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MY RECOLLECTIONS
OF AUSTRALIA & ELSEWHERE

Yours truly
Geo. W. Childs

MY RECOLLECTIONS

OF AUSTRALIA & ELSEWHERE 1842-1914
BY THE HON^BLE. JOHN MILDRED CREED,
MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,
NEW SOUTH WALES. WITH SIXTEEN
FULL PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO

THE EARL AND COUNTESS OF JERSEY

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED IN APPRECIATION OF THEIR MANY SERVICES TO THE EMPIRE, TO AUSTRALIA IN PARTICULAR, WHERE THEIR OFFICIAL SOJOURN IN NEW SOUTH WALES IS EVER REMEMBERED WITH HIGH ESTEEM, AND BY NONE MORE SINCERELY THAN THEIR OBEDIENT SERVANT

THE AUTHOR

344537

FOREWORD

I HAVE ventured to record my recollections, thinking that the earlier portion may help to show that Colonists, though living far away from the land of their origin, still remember the Mother Country, and regard her with the affection due to her by her children.

The later portion, it is hoped, may prove of interest as representing the thought and action of an average man who has had to face problems, some of which have been and, in all probability, will continue to be, the subject of discussion and legislative action in the Parliament of Great Britain.

In all that I did or attempted in legislation, my desire was not blindly to follow any leader, but to do what I believed to be best for the country of my adoption, apart from mere party considerations.

Throughout my parliamentary career, which began more than forty years ago, I have been more or less handicapped by the necessity of maintaining myself and those dependent on me by my professional earnings. Often when I would willingly have devoted all my thought to the solution of difficult questions I have had to " scratch for sixpences."

Some of the things in which I ventured to take action, when they were to the front in New South Wales, are now subjects of immediate interest to Great Britain. For instance, the constitution and

function of a higher Second Legislative Chamber, the settlement of industrial disputes, the control and treatment of inebriates in the interest of the State, the relation of the Imperial Ministry to those of the outlying Dominions, and other questions of high importance to both lands.

I gratefully acknowledge the kindly aid and encouragement that have been given me by many friends, and notably the services of Mr. W. A. Gullick, of Sydney, whose advice and assistance have been invaluable.

JOHN MILDRED CREED.

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CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD, AND MEDICAL STUDIES

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MY father's people were landowners and yeoman farmers for very many generations in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. Certainly from the time of " good Queen Bess " they occupied farms in the Ampneys in the former county, and as a boy I had frequent opportunities of scanning the parish books and registers, first kept in the reign of that queen. Here the name of Creed appeared almost every year. From these sources it appears that my ancestors could read and write when others of like social position were seldom so accomplished. This is emphasised by occasional entries of payments to the " Scrivener " who had been called in to make up the records for other parish officers. Other ancestors of mine, in the female line, resided on and

farmed their own estates across the Thames in the adjoining county of Wiltshire.

A Scotch strain was introduced on my mother's side, she being descended from a daughter of the last Earl of Linlithgow. This daughter was considered to have made a misalliance by marrying a Captain Jaffrey, and was therefore ignored by her family. However, she lived her life, and left female children and grandchildren, one of whom was my great-grandmother. On the same side the family had among their ancestors two French Huguenots, silk manufacturers of considerable means. Compelled to leave Lyons by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they settled in Wiltshire in the neighbourhood of Bradford, and prospered greatly; their wealth was, however, soon dissipated by reckless descendants.

The Earl of Linlithgow was the head of the Livingstones, a very old Scotch family; being also Earl of Livingstone, Earl of Calendar, Viscount Livingstone and heir of entail in the Baronies of Calendar, Haining, and other lands. With Scotch caution he arranged with his son, Viscount Livingstone, to adhere to the Hanoverians, whilst he himself supported the Stuart cause by taking the field with a numerous body of followers in 1715 on behalf of the Old Pretender.

This stratagem, which was common enough at the time, did not succeed in the present instance, as the son died in April, 1715, whilst the father, surviving, was attainted in October of the same year, his honours and estates being confiscated by Act of Parliament. He evaded the fate of his co-conspirators, the Lords Derwentwater, Kenmuir, and

Nithsdale—of whom the two former were beheaded, while the latter, clad in his wife's clothes, escaped from the Tower and fled to France.

Unusually long life, particularly on my mother's side, has been a characteristic of my people. I recollect my maternal great-grandfather dying at ninety-seven, to which hale old age he attained after some very narrow escapes in early manhood. As a sailor he was twice all but lost in shipwrecks; and on a third occasion he was only saved from drowning by taking to the boats with the rest of the ship's company just before the vessel foundered in mid-ocean. Death from starvation was so near, that lots were cast as to who should be sacrificed to save the rest. My great-grandfather drew the fatal lot, and was actually being bled to death—the blood being carefully conserved for consumption—when a sail was sighted and his wound hastily bound up. The signals from the boat having been seen, it was picked up, and my great-grandfather returned home safe and sound, with the result that I am here to tell the tale. After this he felt that he had had enough of the sea, and he spent the rest of his days ashore.

His daughter, my grandmother, who came to Australia in 1852, lived a strenuous and much respected life, and died at Melbourne in 1891, at ninety-five. Her daughter, my mother, was, in comparison, cut off prematurely, dying in 1905 at eighty-eight. Another old relation—but this time of my father's kin—was Joseph Howse, his great-uncle. Until by length of service he became entitled to retirement, Mr. Howse served the Hudson's Bay or perhaps the North-West Fur Company. He was one of their most trusted managers, and did much

service in exploration, being the first European to cross the Canadian Rocky Mountains. Howse's Pass is named after him. He had great influence with and knowledge of the Indians, and wrote the grammar of the Cree language, which is still the highest authoritative record of the uncorrupted dialect. Copies of this are treasured possessions of the Canadian University Libraries. It was no mere pamphlet, but a weighty octavo volume, which I well remember puzzling over. His services in exploration were recognised and he was elected an F.R.G.S. He passed his old age in Cirencester, highly respected as a benevolent patron of good institutions.

I was born on November 21, 1842, at Ashbrook, near Cirencester, where my father worked on his parents' farm, succeeding to it on the death of his father. My own earliest recollection dates from about May, 1846, when I have a distinct remembrance of the chimney of the room in which my baby brother was being nursed during an attack of pneumonia, catching fire. Although I was only three and a half, every detail of the room and the incident is still a vivid memory. About this time also I recollect that, coming home from a walk with my nurse, we passed through a pack of fox hounds, the " field " accompanying them having been invited to take a " snack " by my father. My juvenile mind was left with an impression which it took years to obliterate, that some hounds, at all events, were as big as donkeys.

Of the next few years I retain many pleasant memories, though hardly worth repeating, except perhaps one quaint incident when my younger sister

and myself, having been invited to a children's party on a very wet afternoon, were taken to it by a deaf and dumb groom, or "Nag-man," in two large oak milking buckets, carried by him on a "yoke."

The clergymen of our neighbouring villages were men of exceptional learning and social position. The Rev. Edward Daubeney, then rector of the Ampneys Crucis and Saint Peter, was a most benevolent and kindly man, esteemed by everyone. He served as midshipman at the bombardment of Copenhagen by Nelson, in 1801, and afterwards entered the Church, dying at a very advanced age in 1877.

Ampney St. Mary or Ashbrook Church was a very ancient, isolated building, situated in a meadow a mile from the village, and separated from it by another parish. I remember thinking it a great privilege to be taken to the organ loft, as it enabled me, when tired of the service, to watch the trout rising in a neighbouring trout stream.

The Rev. Laurence Latham, M.A., was the perpetual curate, and his sermons were considered of such merit that many distinguished persons came to the pretty "Ivy Church" to hear him. Tradition names, amongst others, the great Duke of Wellington, who came in company with Earl Bathurst, at whose house he was staying. The latter, as Lord Apsley, had been aide-de-camp to the Duke at Waterloo.

I recollect several distinguished men who visited our house, among them Sir Charles Trevelyan, and John Yonge Akerman, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries. I remember the latter reciting to me some of his "Wiltshire Tales," written, or perhaps to speak more correctly, edited, in the local dialect,

material being collected from the gossipy narratives of the villagers.

We had also many other less distinguished visitors, who were brought there by their duties on the estates of Lord St. Aldwyn, then Sir Michael Hicks Beach, although our farm was actually the property of Mr. W. H. Beach, M.P. for Hampshire, and subsequently the " father of the House of Commons." The two estates adjoined, and were administered by the same staff. The two of whom I have the most vivid recollections were Mr. Margetts, the timber steward, and Mantell, the head keeper. Mr. Margetts was an immensely fat man, and he travelled in a strong spring cart, occupying so much of the seat as to leave but little room for the boy driver. A specially strong chair was kept purposely for him on his occasional business calls, and put out of the way until again required. Mantell was a wonderfully good rabbit shot, and he used to pet me a good deal ; he would take me out with him when shooting, and allowed me the privilege of staggering under a load of game until we met the game-cart.

In his early days, before entering politics, in which he has done such eminent service, Sir Michael Hicks Beach started a small pack of beagles. These were at first rather a " scratch lot " collected from various sources. One, I remember, named " Music," though nearly the smallest, was one of the most speedy, and had to be weighted back to the general level by a " shot collar," at least during the early part of the day. In the absence of Sir Michael, the keeper Mantell was huntsman, but in his master's presence, although past middle age, he was only " whip." I was often permitted to join the field, which on many

occasions consisted of Sir Michael, his brother Mr. W. H. Beach, Mantell, and myself on my pony.*

Many quaint, but highly esteemed old villagers, whose people had served mine generation after generation, probably for centuries, were never weary of showing their affection for me and my family. One of the most interesting was William Davis, the parish clerk, whose feelings were so much outraged by the substitution of an organ for the clarionet, violins, etc., in his beloved Church service, that he refused ever afterwards to join in the singing. He used to make me feel creepy by his ghost stories, the most startling being the apparition of a man in the upper room of an old house in which he lived, who ordered him to "search." This, some of his contemporary neighbours asserted, he did most vigorously, pulling up floors, removing partitions, examining chimneys, and grubbing under hearthstones. He always denied having had any success, though his denial was not accepted in the neighbourhood. His find, if any, could not have been very great, for he made no difference in his way of living, nor did his worldly possessions amount to much when he died. Other local beliefs included a phantom funeral, comprising a gorgeous hearse and numerous mourning carriages, which passed down a lonely lane at midnight from time to time. Also pattering footsteps which were heard by persons lingering about dusk on

* About 1890, in reply to a communication from me covering the report of a debate in the New South Wales Parliament on my motion, urging efficiency in the Military Defence of the State (which I carried against the Government of Sir Henry Parkes), Sir Michael, in acknowledging it with kindly courtesy, told me that he remembered "the hunting" I speak of, and that Mantell had only recently died at about ninety years of age.

a paved footpath alongside a row of large and ancient elms near the village, but which had no visible origin. All these tales were generally believed and any attempt to cast doubt on them was considered an irreverence. I have nothing but hearsay to go on, but modern thought is certainly more disposed to admit the possibility of such beliefs having some foundation in fact.

My greatest source of dread in those days was connected with certain men who had the reputation of being poachers, and were supposed to do but little in the day that they might be fresh for the hard work of game capture by night. Had poaching been their only sin, it is possible that they did not really deserve the ill reputation they earned, for it was perhaps rather sporting instinct than defiance of the law which induced them systematically to commit this—in countryside opinion—very grave offence. At the same time it cannot be urged that there is really any greater justification for stealing game than for stealing poultry. Both involve illegal entry, the one to the land, the other to the premises of private owners. There have never been more rigidly strict game preservers than the Australian aborigines, who, by immemorial law, reserved the right of hunting to the tribe possessing carefully defined country. Trespass on it by strangers in search of game was punished by death, and not, as in England, by a fine or a few weeks' imprisonment.

The wild flowers are an ever present source of pleasure and happiness to country children, and I have pleasant memories of the violets, "lords and ladies" (arums), hawthorn and dog-roses we gathered

from the hedges, or the banks they sheltered, and of primroses and blue-bells in the coverts and coppices. Blackberrying and nutting were annually recurring autumnal delights. The whistling of the thrush, the call of the blackbird, and the song of the skylark are, even now, often audible in my imagination. All of them are well established in Australia, the first two being common near Melbourne. A comparatively short time ago I disturbed a sitting skylark in the Centennial Park, Sydney, and on looking down saw her nest, which I carefully avoided examining too closely. All these songsters would be more plentiful there but for the ground vermin, to whose ravages the low-lying nests are exposed. Sparrows and starlings build high, and, thus escaping, have become so numerous as to be a nuisance.

Although to the farmer hay-making and harvest is always a time of hard work and anxiety, to his children it is a time of continuous pleasure. The ride to the field in the empty returning waggon, the smell of the hay, the romping in it, the warm sunshine, the flight and hum of the insects, especially of the " humble bee," were entrancing. In harvest-time, the reaping of the wheat, the mowing of the barley and oats, and the " hacking " of the beans, were each in turn a present interest. In those days there was little of the machinery now so much in use. I remember the first hay-making machine, the earlier horse-rakes ; and still more vividly the first trials of the water drill, for turnips, which my father was the earliest to take into use, after the inventor, Mr. Chandler of Aldbourne. Fowler's steam-plough came later, and was generally hired for special work. Mowing and reaping machines only became general

after I had started for Australia. With these there is but little left for the gleaners. There was then but slight grumbling by the farmers if only a reasonable number of stray ears of wheat were left by the reapers for the benefit of the older women (the younger were generally among the workers) and the children, who carefully gathered them. Some families were persistent enough to collect, during harvest, sufficient grain to send a sack to the mill for gristing, to be a material assistance in their bread supply.

There was then a kindly feeling between the classes in a village, and assistance in the form most requisite was given by those able to those who needed it. This, it appears from news I sometimes receive, is not the case now, and the continuous timely sympathy is, in a measure, a thing of the past. Farming was then a more prosperous occupation and farmers could afford to find work for their men in the dull season. For instance, the hand threshing of barley with a flail to provide straw fodder for young cattle in the yards; breast ploughing of land when broken up for grain after some years of clover, or other "seeds." One field was kept under "sanfoin" during my whole boyish recollection, to be fed upon by hurdled sheep and cut for hay.

Although nearly fifty years elapsed before I was able to take a holiday at "home" since I landed in Australia in 1866, I have kept my memory fresh by obtaining many of the six-inch ordnance maps of the country in England with which I was familiar. These are so complete as to show every field, building, path, hedge, gate, and stile, even the walks of the garden of the house in which we lived. I can by

their aid miss trees from groups in which I used to hide to shoot pigeons; some that then had three, now, according to my map, have only two. Hedges have been destroyed, and land which I knew as two fields is now made one. It is one of my greatest pleasures to take, by their assistance, walks through the neighbourhood I knew so well, and still love so dearly.

My recollection of school-time commences with a difference of opinion with my grandmother, while visiting her at Weston-super-Mare. She thought it would be well for me, though less than five years old, to begin my education. My strenuous objection in the morning was successful, but it had to yield to superior force in the afternoon. The school I was sent to was a mixed assembly of little boys, and older girls who petted me greatly. I distinctly remember riding home pick-a-back, carried by the prettiest of them, whom I knew later in life as a very beautiful woman. I soon learnt my letters, and could spell small words. On returning home, I was sent to Poulton, a neighbouring village, to the preparatory (and girls') school of Mrs. Bowstead, the wife of the Rev. Thomas Bowstead, who had one for older boys. At first a boarder, I was subsequently a day scholar, going and returning in a donkey cart with a family of young friends, boys and girls.

In January, 1854, I was sent to a Diocesan School, established at Cowley, near Oxford, by the Bishop of the Diocese, Samuel Wilberforce. It had some two hundred boarders, and there I remained until the end of the year, being then removed, as it was found that the younger boys made but little progress.

The old school-house was formerly the Manor House and, traditionally, Cromwell's headquarters at the siege of Oxford, from which it was distant a little less than two miles. Some remains of banks and hollows about it indicated that it had been entrenched as a precaution against sorties by the Royalist garrison.

The year was a memorable one, and the news from the seat of war in the East a constant source of excitement. Reports of the battles of Alma, Balaclava, and Inkerman arrived in the autumn, and half-holidays were granted in recognition of these victories.

The fifth of November was the cause of considerable excitement to the boys. Many of us made our escape from the dormitories to see a "Town and Gown row," a periodical encounter of the apprentices and the undergraduates in the University city, and also to make bonfires on various heights. We were not very successful in either object.

After the Christmas holidays I was removed and sent to Kingsdown School, Bristol (David Vines, head-master), the playground of which was the site of a battery posted there during the siege of the city by the Parliamentary Army in 1642. For cricket we used to go about a mile and a half to the Durdham Downs, adjoining Clifton. This led to our association with many now well-known people, among others the brothers Grace, who came to play sometimes with us either from Downend, where their father, the Doctor, resided, or from their uncle, Mr. Pocock's school, which they attended. Mr. Pocock enjoyed the distinction of having travelled between Bristol and London in a carriage drawn by several kites.

The " tuckman " who used to bring his comestibles round to the various cricket pitches was the father of Pulling, the celebrated umpire. I still have keen recollection of old Pulling's raspberry tarts covered with " meringue " obtained from a confectioner's in St. James, Barton, whose shop I intend to visit, to renew my acquaintance with this delicacy, should I go to England in the near future. Whilst I was at this school Sebastopol fell, after we had already had various holidays on different reports of its capture, and peace was proclaimed. The fireworks and illuminations were witnessed by the boys from the roof of the school-house, its elevated situation affording a panoramic view over the whole city.

At this, my last school, I remained until August, 1858, being then articled as a pupil to Mr. Richard Forester Wells, F.R.C.S., who lived and practised in a house on the west side of Finsbury Square, London. The small garden at the back overlooked the parade ground of the Honourable Artillery Company, an oasis in a vast city. The parades, which took place at least weekly, were a source of continuous interest to us. When I first remember this body, though named the Honourable Artillery Company in perpetuation of its original designation, it consisted only of infantry, whose uniform closely resembled that of the Grenadier Guards. It is, I believe, the only military force which is allowed to march through the city of London with fixed bayonets. About 1859, or it may be 1860, a battery of Horse Artillery was added under the command of Captain Jay. The Prince Consort was Colonel in Chief. This was also the drill ground of the London Militia during its month of yearly training. The

Armoury and stores of the regiment faced the City Road, adjoining the entrance to the ground from that thoroughfare.

My master, Mr. Wells, was Medical Officer for one of the districts of Saint Luke's parish, which extended from Bunhill Row to near Goswell Street. When I joined his household he had two other senior pupils, who were also attending the classes at Guy's Hospital. Principally by their assistance he carried on the medical duties of his parish district, the number of patients from which was very considerable. Counting those who came to the surgery and others whose illness necessitated their being visited at their homes, the number not infrequently reached a hundred cases to be dealt with in the day.

I began by learning dispensing, as required, for Mr. Wells' private practice, was also present during his consultations with the visiting parish patients, and accompanied him or my fellow pupils on their rounds to attend those too ill to come out. The misery and destitution of many of the places of residence was appalling, consisting as they often did of only a portion of a room, common to two or more families. I remember an instance of a single room divided by chalk lines on the floor into four parts, each segment being the dwelling-place of a separate family, who lived, ate, slept and carried on their callings in it. When visiting sick in one corner I saw shoes being mended in another, "churchwarden" clay pipes made in a third, whilst the fourth was occupied by a seamstress busy on "slop" clothing. It is to be hoped that such conditions of life do not still exist in the metropolis of the world. I quickly acquired such knowledge

as enabled me to recognise the more frequent and obvious diseases; also to realise those that were beyond my embryo skill, and the necessity of my reporting them for treatment to my master and teacher. Unqualified assistants are no longer permitted to be employed by general medical practitioners, so what was an immense advantage to me in my early professional training would now be impossible. I do not call to mind any instance in which the poor suffered by the system, as it enabled visits to be made promptly, and the seriousness of the case reported at once. It soon became my duty to vaccinate the children brought to the appointed stations on fixed days. Sometimes the numbers were very large, and I remember more than once operating on upwards of a hundred in the day.

During the winter months the "Refuge for Houseless Poor" in Play-house Yard was opened for the reception every night of about seven hundred destitute persons of both sexes. Mr. Wells was medical officer, and either himself or one of his pupils attended every evening to superintend the admissions, and, so far as rapid inspection while passing between two lamps sufficed, to stop cases of obviously infectious disease. These were sent either to a hospital or to special quarters as their need required. Some plain food and drink were given at night, and in the morning before discharge; for none were allowed to remain during the day. The large apartments, mere lofts, were kept at a comfortable temperature by good fires. Sleeping accommodation was provided by the floor being divided into spaces six feet by two, separated by divisions about twelve inches high; clean straw was put in

them to lie on, the bed covering being basil-leather. This was used to lessen the risk of harbouring vermin. The wretchedness was terrible, and the relief highly appreciated by the derelicts seeking it. Amongst them I remember members of titled families, clergymen, doctors, and barristers.

I remained with Mr. Wells, employed in the work of his parish district, until August, 1861, when, his health failing, and my father having determined to emigrate with the rest of his family, my articles were cancelled, and I was permitted the choice of accompanying them or remaining to complete my studies in medicine. The prospect of the excitement of the voyage and curiosity as to a new country were irresistible to a boy, and I had no hesitation in deciding in favour of so attractive a change. My father was induced to take this momentous step by realising that the prospects of profitable farming in England were likely to grow less as years went on, and, having received the fullest information about Australia from relatives who had made it their home, he determined to go there. The capital which he possessed he felt assured might be better invested in a new than in an old country, and, after carefully considering the comparative merits of North America and South Africa, chose the fifth continent. In addition, he felt that the opening life of his children would have a better field there than in almost any other part of the world.

We left England in one of Green's passenger ships, which, with those of Money Wigram, were very generally chosen for their safety and comfort. At that time the only steamer running direct to Australia was the *Great Britain*, the P. &. O. Company

having only a branch steamer from Colombo to Melbourne, calling at Albany to coal. Our ship was the *Prince of Wales*, a two-decker, which, under former arrangement with the East India Company, had been pierced for forty-four guns. When we journeyed by her they had all been removed, and each of the first-class cabins had one of the ports as a window. The cabins were very large in comparison with those of the present day, measuring twelve feet by ten feet eleven inches. Our family occupied three of them, all adjoining and communicating with each other. There being no refrigeration in those days, poultry and other live stock were carried, and a most important member of the crew was the butcher, who also had charge of the milch cows. The latter, especially when there were children, were a great inducement to take passage by ships carrying them. They were always made a prominent feature in the advertisements, and were generally coupled with a notification that the ship carried a medical man. On one occasion the humorous compositor varied the usual phrase, and *The Argus* announced that a vessel fixed to sail on a certain day would carry "an experienced cow and a good milch surgeon."

The Master was Captain L. K. Vaile, then the Commodore of Green's service, who was making his first voyage to Australia, having always before been on the line to India. Though of such seniority, he was a comparatively young man, having been specially promoted by Mr. Richard Green for his courage and presence of mind when only second officer. When his ship was lying in the Madras Roads in the early 'forties he observed a sudden and rapid fall of the barometer, indicating the approach

of a typhoon of exceptional violence. There was no time to communicate with the shore or to wait for his senior officers, so he slipped his cables and went to sea, with the result that, after passing through extreme peril, the ship was the only one saved from a fleet of more than forty vessels which, remaining at anchor, dragged and went ashore, becoming total wrecks. Mr. Green was so impressed with the promptitude, skill, and pluck of this young officer, that, on his return to England, he was promoted to Master on the earliest opportunity. Captain Vaile retired after the voyage on which I met him and was appointed Harbour Master at one of the chief ports in the south of England.

Our journey was comfortable, but without striking incident till Cape Otway was sighted at daybreak on a beautiful morning, after about seventy-eight days' passage. It took two days more to reach Hobson's Bay in Port Phillip. I do not remember any scene which appeared so beautiful as this did, after so long an absence from land. As was always done in those days, directly this cape was sighted, fishing lines were got out, and hooks baited with white rag were dragged astern. As the ship rushed through the water the bait was eagerly seized and barracouta drawn on board in large numbers. These fish are not particularly nice, but still they afforded a pleasant chang f or breakfast. We dropped anchor off Sandridge after dark, and looked with interest at the glimmering lights of the city and suburbs of Melbourne.

The next day I was sent off alone to a house twenty-five miles away, which had been taken for us in the immediate neighbourhood of the Yan Yean

VIEW FROM OTFORD TUNNEL, N.S.W.

reservoir—then, as now, the chief factor in the Melbourne water supply. I had brought a supply of food with me and was able to make myself at home. During the night, engrossed with the novelty of everything, I lay awake listening to the various bush sounds, the most notable being the scream of the curlew. I could hardly convince myself that this weird—and to me unknown—call was not a cry for help by some human being in peril.

Daybreak saw me wandering in the neighbouring country intensely interested in every sight and sound, until then quite unfamiliar to me. The bird which attracted me most was the "leather-head," whose bald pate and neck gives such a vulture-like appearance to a comparatively small bird. Though I had seen many parrots in confinement, the bright colours and quick flight of those at liberty made them very interesting to me. I quickly struck up acquaintance with some neighbours, who were pleased to show and explain everything to the new-comer. One of the things which struck me most were some small tree frogs, which, sitting in a fork of ti-tree scrub, made noises rather like the notes of a canary. I thought that my informant was chaffing me until careful observation convinced me that they were really frogs.

The early fruit was just ripening, and the cherries of all kinds were superb, quite equal to the best in England. A few weeks later the plums, apricots, peaches, and nectarines came in, and these the large, well-grown orchards yielded in abundance. The stone fruits of Australia, when only a minimum of care is bestowed on the trees and there is fair rain, are, I think, finer and better flavoured than any in

England, even when grown against a wall with a southern aspect or in a glass house. There is no such choice in the fruit as is implied by the phrase " the sunny side of the peach." Every part is equally perfect, a melting lump of delight, and so plentiful that quantities of windfalls are given to the pigs. There are many varieties, arriving at perfection in rotation, so that the peach and nectarine season lasts from six to eight weeks. Plums in the southern districts are equally prolific and good. The only fruit of this class which I do not think equal to that grown in England is the apricot, but with a little more care they would not be far behind English growers. Though a little dearer now, sometimes costing for selected peaches or nectarines as much as three shillings a dozen, a few years ago I remember thinking them dear in the country if we had to pay three pence for the same number. I can recall several years when the growers considered they were getting profitable returns in selling the very best free-stone fruit for a penny a dozen.

In the Yan Yean district grapes, though very plentiful and good, do not ripen until later, and by that time I had left for a sheep station in Riverina. It was before the time of railways, and to reach the place I had first to travel by coach from Melbourne for two hundred miles over unmade roads to Corowa, N.S.W. This meant about twenty-eight hours of continuous wakefulness, so fatiguing that all but the strongest arrived at their destination quite worn out. There were then many more lengthy coach journeys, but I am glad to say I was never obliged to undertake them.

At Corowa I made my way to a vineyard belonging

to relatives, the first to be planted in the district, and then bearing for the first time. The grapes had just ripened, and nothing finer could be found in any vinery in England. The fruit picked in the early morning, when deliciously cold from the night air, was perfection; moreover, there was no need to stint our consumption. Wonderfully fine grapes are now sold at from twopence to sixpence a pound in the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, but I have known them retailed in the country at a penny a pound. I was directed to assist in the picking and wine-making, and enjoyed my experience thoroughly. With such fine dessert fruit so easily obtainable, those used for wine offered little temptation. They are generally small, and often not of a very attractive flavour, though best adapted for pressing.

The wine industry in Australia is only in its infancy, but bids fair to become of the highest importance. Vines were brought to it in the first fleet, but the original varieties have been constantly increased by importations from other countries. The area of land in vineyards has gradually extended from 6,237 acres in 1861, to 61,232 in 1908; the wine production from which was, in the latter year, 4,450,000 gallons. Although some of the larger vineyards have been able to establish and maintain a uniform type, the smaller ones vary so much in the character and quality of their productions that no reliance can be placed on the uniformity of their wines.

When the smaller vine growers realise that it will be to their advantage to follow the example of cane farmers in the production of sugar, and of dairies in

the treatment of cream, then, and then only, can Australia expect to attain a fitting position in the vintages of the world. What is needed is that large wine factories shall be established in suitable places, where their managers will arrange with the growers to plant the most suitable varieties of vines, and pick and sell at a fixed rate all the grapes they grow. Thus standard wines of a permanent type might be produced, which would only vary from year to year in the quality of the vintage, as is the case in European countries. I have tasted wines in the cellars of small producers equal to almost any in the world, but all were the result of accident, and rarely was anything like them produced from the same vines afterwards. I can recall a matured "Burgundy" which a French connoisseur refused to believe was not grown in France, and a Madeira of equal excellence. But never again did the same grower succeed in getting anything so good.

During my few weeks' work at the vintage I often used to fish of an evening with my grandfather in the adjacent Murray River for "cod," one of the best flavoured fresh-water fish in the world, especially when not too large and when caught in a cool, gravelly stream. I saw one landed weighing more than ninety pounds, but the best are those which do not exceed ten.

After work in the vineyard ceased, my next experience was driving a dray loaded with flour, having chaff above it, to Wangamong, a station thirty-five miles off, which was to be my home as a "Jackeroo" while gaining pastoral experience. A thunderstorm had so softened the bush earth-track that we were three full days in reaching our destina-

tion, though in subsequent trips it was accomplished in a day and a quarter. I generally had to camp for a night on the road, sleeping under the cart, the horses being hobbled with a bell round their necks to indicate their whereabouts in the morning.

At this time the old bush hospitality was still the custom, and every station homestead cordially offered food and shelter to travellers. Friends, or strangers of the same social position as the hosts, were accommodated in or about the house; inside until it overflowed, and then on shakedown beds in the spacious verandahs. When visitors were unusually numerous, the rule was that the ladies should take the inside and the gentlemen the outside sleeping places. Workers journeying on business, or seeking engagement, were sent to the men's hut; an institution on every station.

When the callers chanced to be strangers it was sometimes a little difficult to decide as to which was their most fitting destination, as many gentlemen were so careless in their dress as to be outwardly indistinguishable from their servants. It was no uncommon thing to entertain more than twenty at the home, and a dozen at the hut, in one evening. The paucity, entire absence, or discomfort of bush inns was such that, without the reciprocal accommodation which custom provided, travel would have been almost impracticable. Friends were cordially welcomed, as were often complete strangers, on announcing that they needed shelter for the night.

For the next year (1862) I was kept busy, as all youngsters were in those days, with the general work of a sheep farm, which included taking rations and water to the outlying shepherds' huts, and counting

the flocks, which averaged about 2,000 each. Now the country is fenced, and the sheep are no longer shepherded. A little splitting of rails for fences and stripping of bark for roofing huts also fell to my lot, as well as, in their respective seasons, attending to a lambing flock and learning to shear—a very different proceeding from that carried on in England. At the period of which I am writing, machines for the purpose had not been invented. The wool had then to be stripped off with hand shears. At home this is a steady, methodic process ; in Australia it is almost a scramble. In England about twenty sheep is a fair day's work per man, the sheep being much larger and the wool having to be removed in the most careful manner. But in Australia many men could shear 120 sheep in the day for some six weeks on end, and it was said that a few with rare skill have reached 150. In doing this, however, there is none of the careful pattern-work of the home shepherds. With the machines worked by steam power, although the wool is taken off much closer and with fewer cuts to the animals, a greater number can be dealt with in the same time. In England the operation is generally carried out beneath the trees in fine summer weather by the shepherds of the neighbourhood, who visit the several farms in rotation. On these the flock is, at most, a few hundreds, whilst in Australia 250,000 is not an uncommon number to be shorn at one station. For this a well ventilated, well fitted shed, with perhaps machines for fifty men and adequate steam power, is provided. With hand shears it requires the experience of two or three years to make a good shearer, as, at first, so great is the strain, that the wrist ligaments often partially

SHEEP-SHEARING, RIVERINA DISTRICT, N.S.W.

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give way. It is different with the machines, skill with which can be quickly acquired. There is little power needed in the hand, but merely intelligent caution in insuring that the cutter is kept close to the skin, and double cuts, destroying the length of the staple, avoided. I was never able to get beyond forty-five in the day with hand shears, but I believe, from the trials I have made, that I could exceed 100 with a machine.

The weekly allowance of food to the men regularly employed, but not to shearers, who provide for themselves, consisted of ten pounds of flour, fifteen of fresh or salted meat, and two of sugar, with four ounces of tea. Some men would ask for more meat and less flour, and others the reverse. All other things required were supplied from the station store, as requested, but paid for by deductions from the wages.

Our recreation was shooting, for in those days there was no close season, although we carefully avoided killing game when we found it breeding. Our most eagerly sought quarry was plain turkey, or the great bustard. It was impossible to approach these birds on foot, but comparatively easy on horseback, and even difficult to put them to flight when approached in a vehicle. I well remember on one occasion, when I was carting water to an outlying shepherd's hut, a bustard rising from the thick grass close to the dray which I was driving. Its motions were so deliberate that though I threw the wooden plugs from the casks it declined to fly, until, believing it disabled, I got out to seize it, when, running a short distance to gain impetus, it flew majestically away. These birds will not infrequently weigh

upwards of thirty pounds. Some gourmets assert that they are the finest game which can be brought to table. Wild duck of various kinds were very numerous when water was not scarce, the most plentiful being the black duck, the teal, and the wood duck, really a goose. The black duck is remarkably plump and well flavoured, and I question whether, when dressed by a good cook, there is any better eating wild duck in the world, except possibly the canvas-back of North America. This I am incompetent to criticise, never having tasted it. Though quail are sometimes very plentiful, their visits are only occasional, depending probably on the food supply. Bronze-wing pigeons were more sought for. These birds are now very scarce, being almost extinct in most parts of the country, but at the time of which I write they were exceedingly plentiful, and I often shot from twenty to thirty in the day. What I say of the game applies more specifically to Riverina, between the Murray and the Murrumbidgee Rivers. In other districts there are other species. I have only spoken of feathered game, as the native animals, except the tails of the kangaroo, are rarely considered worthy of culinary attention.

The wild flowers of this part, though not equal in beauty to many varieties nearer the coast, are very attractive. The oft-repeated, and still persistent, libel that Australian flowers have no scent has no foundation. The perfume of all varieties of wattle is superb, and I can remember many other blooms which are equally fragrant, one resembling heliotrope. In contrast, however, there are others whose odour is so fetid as to be positively unbearable, some so closely resembling that of carrion as to attract large flies.

After twelve months' experience on the sheep farm I willingly fell in with the proposal that I should return to England to continue my medical studies, and I went back to my father's house, near Melbourne. As it was not necessary for me to reach London before the opening of the Medical Schools, on October 1, I occupied myself in ways most congenial during the following few months. Amongst other pursuits I joined in coursing—with suitable gaze-hounds—the great kangaroo, also in duck shooting and fishing. I assisted in the turning out, by the Victorian Acclimatisation Society, of more than one variety of deer in the Plenty Ranges. In these mountains they became at one time very numerous, but I hear that of late years they have much decreased in numbers, the result of their being shot by settlers upon whose crops they trespassed by leaping the fences. In these pursuits the time passed very pleasantly until I had to take my departure for London in the *Anglesey*.

Our voyage by Cape Horn was, during the first part, somewhat eventful, as we passed through an unusual amount of ice. Some of the bergs were of immense size, no less than 250 feet in height. We never lost sight of them for more than a fortnight, except when it was too dark to distinguish them. For a part of this time we were extremely fortunate in having bright clear weather and a moon near the full, which circumstances probably saved the ship and those on it from destruction. One evening before midnight the look-out reported ice ahead and on either beam. Careful scrutiny showed that we had run into an absolute bay of icebergs, having no break in its walls except the one by which we had

entered. It was estimated at being some miles in depth and breadth. Fortunately we were sailing close-hauled, and so were able to put about and sail out again.

The passage to Europe via Cape Horn is no holiday trip, but the prevailing westerly winds in these latitudes leave sailing ships no choice but to follow it, except sometimes in January and February, when it is possible on leaving port that they may find winds favourable enough to enable them to get to England by the Cape of Good Hope. Some vessels have had very narrow escapes. I remember that in 1859 or 1860 some friends, arriving in London by Money-Wigram's *Suffolk*, described their peril from the ship having run gently on to a berg or field of ice, floating level with, or partly below, the surface of the water. Luckily there was no abrupt edge on the side first struck, but a gentle slope like a beach, upon which the vessel grounded. Her sails when set back proved sufficient to force her off, and she escaped without material injury.

We had a voyage of upwards of ninety days, and when in sight of the Eddystone at daybreak a fishing-boat ran alongside, and offered to take any passengers into Plymouth for half a sovereign each. I gladly accepted the opportunity of getting ashore thus early, and so escaping the tedium and risks of the passage up the Channel. The fishing-boat had just lifted her beam trawl and her decks were covered with fish of all kinds. From these, on the invitation of the master, we commenced to cook a breakfast, the most welcome and palatable I ever remember. I think it must have extended over a couple of hours, for as soon as we were satisfied with

one kind of fish we tried another, and, as the cutter was near the end of its cruise and no preparations for passengers had been made, we were not handicapped by too much bread.

We landed in Plymouth at about three p.m. at the same steps from which I had embarked two years before.

On the fishing-boat I met a very nice old man, then an inn-keeper in the town, who had joined her for a short holiday. He was curious about Melbourne, which he said he had visited many years before. It must have been shortly after its foundation, for he said there were but few houses and the town allotments were being sold by auction. He drew some of his pay and for a few pounds purchased one, which, from his description, must now be in the very heart of the city. He invited me to look at the deeds, but, being anxious to catch an evening train for Bristol, I suggested that the inspection should be postponed until a future visit, which I fully determined to make before my return to Australia. In this, however, I was disappointed, for when making enquiry for him in 1866, I found he had left the address which he had given me, and his whereabouts was not known. The land in Melbourne even then must have been very valuable, while its present worth is probably immense.

The trip by train to Bristol, in the bright summer evening, through the beautiful Devonshire country, was delightful as long as daylight lasted. A day or two was pleasantly spent with friends, visiting places with which when at school I had been familiar. I also saw the suspension bridge at Clifton, which was erected during my absence with the material removed

from the Hungerford Bridge over the Thames in London. I went to Cirencester, making short visits in that district, and to Highworth, whence I travelled, via Swindon and Marlborough, by road to the station at Savernake on the Reading to Devizes branch of the Great Western Railway. The drive through the historic country in which King Alfred played his great part in the defeat of the Danes was most interesting, and the last few miles through Savernake Forest picturesque and beautiful.

After a few days' visit to relatives near Hungerford, I left for London to enter at University College as a student in medicine. Except that through my father's solicitors I was paid a quarterly allowance, from which I had to pay my fees to the College and Hospital and maintain myself, I was my own master. As my income was none too great, and I desired such home life as was possible, I advertised for a medical man who would provide me with board and lodging in return for some reduced pecuniary payment and my services as dispenser and assistant. I received several replies, one by happy chance from a doctor who had married a third cousin of my father's, for whose sake I was cordially welcomed and made to feel at home. I remained with this estimable family until the final year of my studentship, when I was invited by a dear old lady and gentleman to reside with them, and set an example in study to an only son who, though in most ways as good as it is healthy to be, and possessing exceptional ability, preferred billiards and other distractions to reading anatomy and physiology, in which I had passed the necessary examinations. After our association he was also successful, though he had long delayed submission to

the test; but that this came about through my influence it is not for me to say.

During my last year at the hospital I was clinical clerk to Dr. Hare, and temporarily to Sir William Jenner; also dresser to Mr. John Richard Quain, the celebrated surgeon and the author of "Quain's Anatomy," still the standard work upon dissection. I subsequently acted in the same capacity to Sir Henry Thompson, then the strongest advocate of lithotrity,* as substitute for George Crowe, who had married Miss Bateman, the creator of "Leah," and wished to get away for his honeymoon.

* This procedure is now considered inadvisable, since the discovery of antiseptic surgery has increased the safety of what were then dangerous operations.

CHAPTER II

AUSTRALIA. AN EXPLORING EXPEDITION

I Pass my Final Examinations—I Return to Australia —An Amusing Incident—Melbourne—An Appointment at Sydney Infirmary—I Join an Exploring Party— The Great Barrier Reef—The Gudangs and their Customs—Liverpool River—The Australian Aborigines —Mosquitoes—Buffaloes and Ponies—A Narrow Escape —The Gulf of Carpentaria—We Discover the Mouth of Roper River—Crocodiles—Bathing among Crocodiles— The Local Photographer—Photographing a Warrior— An Embarrassing Mistake—A Strange Prison—An Ambulant Lock-up—"Thomas the Uniped"—The Value of a Sovereign—Turtles and their Eggs—Fishing for Sharks—Fraternising with the Natives—Shortage of Water, Coal, and Food—The Dutch Settlement at Kopang—A Visit from a Local Sultan—Strange Gifts —We Strike a Reef on Christmas Morning—We Return to Sydney.

IN April, May, and June, 1866, I passed my final examinations and obtained the diplomas of medicine, surgery and obstetrics, from the Royal College of Surgeons of London, and the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. Although Quain had not the reputation for showing overmuch appreciation of the ability of his students, he suggested that I should remain in London and practise pure surgery. I was too anxious to see my relatives and to live the freer life of Australia to follow his advice. My temperament was not suited to the long years of tame subservience which is necessary to the success of a young practitioner without influence in that great wilderness of London. Therefore I sought

employment with Messrs. Green & Co. as surgeon on a ship sailing for Australia, and was appointed to the *Anglesey*, in which I had travelled home as a passenger three years earlier.

One incident of the voyage, I remember, which had its ludicrous side. Early one morning I heard a considerable outcry from the cabin adjoining my own, which was occupied by an exceedingly prim maiden lady, of discreet age. A midshipman had been told by the officer of the watch to bring to me a big A.B. who had become suddenly, but inarticulately, demonstrative. It appears that on the change of watch at four a.m. he came on deck yawning, and had dislocated his jaw. The "mid," mistaking the doors, had rushed the man into the old maid's cabin instead of mine, exclaiming: "For goodness' sake, doctor, see what is the matter with this fellow," and received the indignant reply from beneath the bedclothes: "The next cabin is the doctor's." Of course a hurried retreat was made.

On arriving in Melbourne I at once hurried to our home, which was then at Preston, seven miles from the city. After a few weeks spent in visiting old friends, I took charge of a large practice in a Melbourne suburb during the indisposition of the owner. The patients were principally members of Benefit Societies. Of these there were some 2,500, paying at that date an average of two pounds per annum for each family for attendance. The prescriptions were dispensed by a chemist paid in addition.

The doctor having resumed practice, I left Victoria to take up the position of resident physician at the Sydney Infirmary, for which post I had been selected

by Mr. (now Sir) Mathew Henry Stephen, one of the honorary secretaries, on the strong recommendation of the well-known Dr. Motherwell of Melbourne. After I had been a short time at this Institution the work became uncongenial owing to the interference by lay members of the committee with the professional work of the medical officers. At the time I received a pressing invitation from the Chief Medical Adviser of South Australia to accept the appointment, at nearly three times the salary I had been receiving, of surgeon in charge of an exploring expedition about to be sent out by the Government of that colony. The object was the exploration of the Northern Territory, which had been added to the Southern State, in search of suitable country to meet the requirements of holders of land warrants issued by its ministers.

I joined the party which was then fitting out a steamer of about 300 tons. As tender we had what would now be known as a decked launch, forty feet in length. The vessel herself was the *Eagle*, built in the colony in 1840, of hard wood, and she had for many years traded in the service of the Company between Sydney and Rockhampton. The tender was called the *Firefly*. The *Eagle*, from her strength of build, was well-suited for exploration, as was proved by her returning to Sydney after having been upwards of twenty times aground. On one occasion she went on the rocks and was so suspended on two of them that when the tide fell there was room for a boat to be rowed beneath her keel. Fortunately she grounded at half-ebb, and therefore floated a little after half-flood, and a kedge having been laid out she was hauled clear.

Twenty horses were carried on her deck, the remaining space of which was so completely loaded with compressed forage that, except for narrow passages, all deck work had to be carried out upon the upper surface of the bales. When we left port she was so deeply laden that it is a wonder that even in the days before the Plimsoll mark she was permitted to go to sea. Probably she would not have been allowed to put out had she not been in the Government service.

We filled up with coal at Newcastle, Brisbane, and Townsville, and from the last-named place, with the *Firefly* in tow, made our way inside the Great Barrier reef to Somerset, near Cape York. At that time there were no buoys or lights to mark the channel, so the ship had to be anchored every night. Our course each day was laid out from the charts, which even then were marvellously accurate, by cross bearings on numerous well-known landmarks. Nothing could be more charmingly picturesque than this route, with the varying colours of the water, its hue depending on its depth and the nature of the bottom. The coral reefs are always of interest, some just awash, others so near to the surface and to the ship as to be fairly visible. Our surroundings were of infinite variety, and included numerous islands, some wooded, others mere sand-banks. The waters were full of life, with leaping fish and an occasional turtle, some of the edible green kind, others of the hawksbill, with now and then a brief glimpse of a scared dugong. Occasionally a canoe laden with natives was seen, who could not, as many did, escape our sight. These incidents all helped to relieve the tedium of such a long trip on the open sea.

Anchoring in the small bay upon which Somerset had been established by the Queensland Government some years earlier, we could see Albany Island across the narrow, swiftly-running channel known as "The Pass." Weird and striking the island is, thickly dotted with great stone-coloured ant-hills, shaped like church spires, having gradually lessening grooves reaching to their apex, frequently a fine point, and varying in height from three or four to fifteen feet. The ground so decorated had every appearance of a great cemetery, and many persons passing the island can hardly be convinced that these hills are not artistic monuments decorating tombs beneath.

The natives of the country adjacent to the Settlement were named the "Gudang"—now an extinct tribe. To European ideas they had a very remarkable idiosyncrasy. On one occasion, some of the boys having committed a comparatively venial offence, the Resident Magistrate sent for the influential men of the tribe and explained to them that he thought some punishment necessary. The elders protested vigorously against the boys being flogged, but gave the Resident Magistrate to understand that they did not object to their being killed, and even offered to do this themselves. The magistrate very naturally would not consent to such extreme measures, but carried out his threat of birching. On this, all the men of the tribe hurriedly got their weapons, and at once made an attack, which the whites with their superior arms quickly repulsed.

The man who appeared to have most authority was called "Big-nose," to which sobriquet he readily answered. He sported a wig, a possibility achieved by shaving his head with a sharp-edged

flake from a glass bottle. I frequently induced him to remove this addition by the gift of a small plug of tobacco. This queer decoration for a savage had been obtained in trade from New Guinea. Barter was carried on by meetings between the people on intermediate islands, and this intercourse extended to such as could be reached by means of the outrigger dug-outs which the Gudangs possessed and handled with much skill. The canoes were propelled either by paddles or by sails made of plaited split reeds or grass. These Gudangs were the only Australian natives who habitually used bows and arrows, which, like the wigs, they obtained by barter.

Very large crayfish formed an important portion of their food, to obtain which they dived to a considerable depth with much ease. Some of the divers I saw returning to the surface with three, one in each hand and a third under the left arm. The right had to be kept unembarrassed to enable them to swim.

Tobacco smoking was habitual, even before the advent of Europeans, pipes and tobacco being obtained from New Guinea, where the plant is indigenous, but, even then, cultivated. The pipe is constructed of a couple of joints of bamboo with the central septum perforated at one end. The bowl for the reception of the tobacco is made of a green leaf twisted into a cone and inserted when filled into a small hole bored in the side of the pipe near the closed end. By suction at the other opening both segments are filled with smoke, which is then confined by the palm of one hand; the cone is removed, and the small opening closed by the thumb of the other. The imprisoned vapour is

inhaled so as to fill the lungs by applying the lips to the small hole. Two inhalations are enough to produce partial insensibility, after which the pipe is taken by another smoker, and by him passed on to a third, there being sufficient vapour for at least this number. Many, however, prefer clay pipes and "white man's tobacco," and will work more willingly for this than for any other recompense. It is impossible to say at what age smoking is commenced, but I have watched the sucking child of a smoking mother leave off its meal to seize the cutty from her mouth to take a few draws, the infant being apparently between two and three years old. Savages of necessity prolong the period of suckling, for, having no suitable milk-diet, a child weaned prematurely and compelled to adopt adult food is condemned to death.

There are, or were, other tribes in the immediate vicinity of Somerset, the Ondowimas and Cockalegas to the west and south-west, also the Kowraregas on Prince of Wales Island across Endeavour Straits. The most powerful and numerous tribe was, however, the Yaldeigans, whose dominion extended a long way south in the Cape York Peninsula. Their hostility was so dreaded that no native not belonging to the tribe dare trespass on their acknowledged territory, except in later times when accompanying a well-armed white, in whom they had complete confidence.

Earlier information with regard to these tribes is given by McGillivray in "The Voyage of H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*," of which, under the command of Captain Owen Stanley, he was one of the scientific staff. A notable incident, recorded by him, was the rescue in 1845 of a young woman named Thompson,

the widow of the captain of a wrecked ship, who had accompanied him on his last voyage. She was the only survivor, and had been adopted by the Kowraregas as a reincarnation of the deceased daughter of one of the leaders of the tribe. She lived with them five years.

During a stay of a few days I was able to see a good deal of the country by the aid of Frank Jardine, the explorer, who had established a station at Newcastle Bay with cattle and horses which he, his brother Alec, and a small party had brought in 1864, making a very remarkable journey of 1,600 miles from the settled districts of mid-Queensland. They had to fight their way through the whole length of the Peninsula, as the natives attacked them day after day.

On leaving our anchorage we passed to the north, through Albany Pass, and turning west made our way through Endeavour Straits, crossed the Gulf of Carpentaria and entered Castlereagh Bay, where we first landed upon the Northern Territory.

After a very few hours there, during which the ship went aground and got off uninjured, we made our way to the Liverpool River, discovered and named by King in 1819. The harbour formed by its mouth was carefully surveyed by him, and so little change had taken place in the depths of water that his charts, which even at this date had not been superseded, were a correct guide. The horses were landed and journeys made in various directions. Little suitable land for settlement was discovered, for that which was secure from flood was generally poor, and that likely to be fertile was shown by the debris high up in the trees to be frequently under water in

the rainy seasons. The natives, who had never seen a white man, for the contemporaries of King's visit must have been all dead, were careful to maintain friendly relations with us, scrupulously avoiding having their weapons in prominence, and hiding them in the neighbourhood of the camp. Each side of the river was inhabited by a distinct tribe, speaking a different language, and persistently hostile to the other. They lived in a state of arms, ready to fight on the slightest trespass. Each side made overtures to us to join it in annihilating the other, quickly realising the irresistible potency of our weapons.

As I have endeavoured to show in an article published in "The Nineteenth Century" of January, 1905, the Australian aborigines are highly intelligent, and the general behaviour of those on this river showed it in a marked degree. Although they had no association with Europeans, they had intimate acquaintance with Malays, who were then, and had been for hundreds of years, annual visitors to the coast of North Australia. These Asiatics came over at the commencement of the north-west monsoon, about November, to collect "trepang,"* or, as it is generally called by Australians, "bêche-de-mer," returning to their homes about March, on the setting in of steady winds from the south-east. Flinders in 1802, King in 1819, Wickham and Stokes about 1837, and several others since, mention having met them. Some few proas still visit this part of the continent, paying the Government of the Northern Territory for a license to do so. Although we did

*Dried sea-slugs (holothuria) valued as a food luxury by the Chinese. A soup, much appreciated by many Europeans, is made from it.

not actually meet them, we frequently came across indications of their visits.

Among the drawbacks were mosquitoes, which were extremely numerous, so much so as to be the cause of the greatest misery to whites, blacks, and horses. The former could get no rest when camping, except by the adoption of some protection, either nets or sleeping bags. The natives erect, about eight feet from the ground, platforms of saplings, so placed as to have one or two inch interstices. Upon these the majority of the tribe sleep whilst a smoky fire is kept going beneath by a few left awake for the purpose. Horses become almost dangerous to the camp from their eagerness for protection from these pests, which they get by standing in the smoke of the camp fires, to which they make their way irrespective of the sleepers beneath their feet.

North Australia is heavily stocked with wild mud-buffaloes, the descendants of those imported for the use of the settlements established in 1821 at Raffles Bay, and in 1822 at Port Essington, both situated on the Coburg Peninsula. On the abandonment of the latter in 1847 they were turned loose, as were also a few English cattle and Timor ponies.

The buffaloes have increased wonderfully, and there are few parts west of the Gulf of Carpentaria in which they are not to be found. Large numbers have been shot for their hides, but there has been no apparent diminution in their numbers. They have immense hoofs, which enable them to traverse swamps uncrossable by other stock, unless their tracks, consolidated by traffic, are followed. In making our land journeys we often found it dangerous

to leave these paths in country which had been saturated during the wet season.

The English cattle have not spread beyond the Peninsula, which is, however, of such area as to support considerable numbers. The ponies have also been confined to the same part. I have been told that it was found almost impossible to yard the latter, though it is said that some very good ones were secured by " creasing," that is, stunning them by grazing the nape of the neck close to the skull with a rifle bullet.

By shooting the buffaloes for their hides, which are very thick, tough, and heavy, a great deal of money has been earned. One party is said to have obtained £100,000 in this way in a few years.

Some weeks having been spent in exploring the neighbourhood of the Liverpool River, we ran about a hundred miles along the coast to the westward, during which we could see " The Tor," an extraordinary natural pillar, hundreds of feet in height, rising from the top of the Wellington Range about forty miles inland. " The Tor " appears to have about the relative height to diameter which a moulded candle would have. There is no record of any one having been nearer to it than ourselves. It was seen and named by King on his first visit to that coast.

The ship had a narrow escape during this excursion. Whilst at breakfast we could hear a leadsman, who was always kept in the chains, calling regularly, " By the deep, nine," when we were thrown down by the vessel striking a pinnacle of rock though drawing less than ten feet. The leadsman's next call was again, " By the deep, nine," showing

that the danger was but a point rising abruptly from an otherwise level bottom. We received no damage except the removal of a few sheets of copper. Had she been built of iron the plates would probably have been perforated, and down she would have gone.

Returning to Castlereagh Bay, we made our way to the Gulf of Carpentaria by a hitherto unsurveyed channel, marked out, however, with posts by the Malays' proas, which had made their way through. The current was terrific, probably running in the most confined part at the rate of ten miles an hour. We found it so strong that no headway could be made against it, and two anchors were dropped and we waited for slack water on the turn of the tide. Even these were insufficient to hold our craft. If she swerved so as to let the current strike either bow, she at once dragged. A man was, therefore, sent to the wheel to keep her directly head on. This enabled the anchors to hold during some hours until the tide changed. Except in this narrow part, where the rocks were swept clean, the bottom of the channel was soft mud, to our great good fortune, for we touched it several times.

We passed to the south of the English Company's and the Wessel Islands. A boat sent to examine a channel found the flood tide so terrifically powerful in its flow into the gulf that none of the crew expected to get back safely, and one, a Maori, kept his sheath knife in his teeth ready to cut away his clothes on having to swim for it. After entering the gulf we made a direct course to Maria Island, off the presumed mouth of the Roper River. This stream was crossed about forty miles inland in October, 1845, by Leichardt's party, but no one had seen it at

its exit to the sea. It was then named after one of the expedition, Mr. John Roper, twenty years afterwards Inspector under the Stock Protection Act in the districts of Scone and Merriwa, N. S. Wales. Its discovery enabled the explorers to add to their food supply. Their journal records that on the following day the seven men ate fifty-one ducks and two geese in three meals, and that they would have eaten many more if they could have got them.

About sunset, shortly before reaching the island, the *Eagle* grounded, and the *Firefly*, which she was towing, ran on to her propeller. The latter was stove in, and sank in a few minutes.

The next morning I landed on the islet, and found a rocky hole full of good water, also a native well about ten feet deep yielding a fair supply. The horses, which had been reshipped before leaving the "Liverpool," were put ashore, the grass being good.

Taking my gun, I went pot-hunting for our table, and was able to secure a number of pigeons which came to drink the water. During my wandering I had a narrow escape, as I nearly trod on a large, venomous snake, but, seeing it almost between my feet, I was quick enough, by holding my gun nearly vertically, to shoot before it could strike me.

The next day two boats were sent to discover the mouth of the Roper River. This was successfully accomplished, a channel of twelve feet at low water being found. The stream was ascended for a considerable distance, well grassed country being seen, with many natives. The number of crocodiles (*C. Porosus*) was astonishing. They were of all sizes from one to twenty feet. They appeared

absolutely without fear, for one very large one kept rubbing its back against the keel. No one dare shoot from the fear that if it were not killed instantly it might stave in the boat.

During the absence of this party from the ship calculations were made as to the probable duration of the water supply available for the horses on the island. With the aid of various tubs filled from the well, sufficient was found in the rocky holes to save them from thirst during the time of our expected absence.

We started for the anchorage between Bentinck and Sweer's Island in the Wellesley Group. A number of houses had been erected on the latter, and it was then the port of customs' entry for the Gulf districts of North Queensland. These islands are about twenty miles off the mouth of the Albert River. Burketown, then the only township of North Queensland except Bowen, Townsville, and Cardwell on the east coast, is about thirty-five miles up that stream on the flat country which had been named "The Plains of Promise" by Commander Stokes of H.M.S. *Beagle*.

Bentinck Island is of considerable extent, but at the date of our visit was unsafe for whites, as it was the hunting ground of a large tribe of hostile blacks. The harbour between the two islands has fairly deep water, and is a commodious anchorage.

Mr. W. Landsborough, the celebrated transcontinental explorer, was Police Magistrate for a district many thousand square miles in extent. He lived on Sweer's Island with his wife and family. Mrs. Landsborough, a charming woman, was a daughter of Captain Raine, after whom, as its discoverer,

the important opening in the Great Barrier Reef was named. From these head-quarters Mr. Landsborough made journeys to other parts of the country to which his duties called him.

After a day or two on the island, about half of our ship's company left for Burketown, in two of the boats having oars and sails. Starting at daylight, we reached our destination a little before dark, finding very fair accommodation at an hotel—of which there were two—that had been established a couple of years. The place, however, was so far out that it had been almost lost sight of by the Queensland Government, and no licenses had been granted, though everything went on as if the innkeepers possessed them. There were also two stores which did a large business in supplying the pastoral occupants of those districts with all the necessaries of life and work.

The village had about 250 inhabitants, a considerable number of whom were employed at the principal industry of " boiling down " for the production of tallow from the many fat cattle, which, otherwise, would have had no market. Droving to the southern cities was practically impossible, the intervening country being little known and quite unsettled. Freezing had not then been put into practice. The bullocks were magnificent animals, highly bred Durhams, and in prime condition. Few but explorers who have been insufficiently fed for months can realise what really good beef tastes like. I still have a very vivid recollection of the exquisite flavour of our freshly grilled steaks. The meat was, of course, of the highest quality, the prime cuts of the best beasts out of many hundreds.

I accepted a formal invitation to dinner from the manager, and did my best to dress up to the occasion from my explorer's outfit, but, on meeting my fellow guests, found I had rather overdone it. Not one of them wore a coat ; whilst the crowd mustered but one shirt amongst them, the less punctilious being costumed in under-flannels or jerseys. The cook was a bush artist, and the meal worthy of his reputation.

The works had been erected near a large lagoon, which, in spite of its ugly reputation as the resort of large crocodiles, near to if not actually in it, was the much frequented swimming bath. Bathing generally took place before sunrise and after sunset, for the unclouded sun was too intense to make exposure of the uncovered skin to its direct power a prudent proceeding. A common challenge was to swim across a narrow part with all the excitement of possible assault by one of the gigantic saurians. On one occasion, being passed by a competitor, I caught at his foot as he got ahead of me—much to his horror, for he gave a terrific yell, believing he had been seized by a crocodile. It was a foolhardy venture, seeing that we had watched a large crocodile drag the body of a drowned horse, stranded at the water's edge, into the river less than half a mile away; but luckily no harm came of it. Possibly the noise we made when enjoying our bath proved our protection.

An immense number of kites frequented the neighbourhood of the slaughter house. When at rest they often occupied the branches of several dead trees of large size. So thickly did they cluster that very little unoccupied branch was visible between

the birds. They kept a sharp look-out for all meat or offal, flying down to it directly it became available. When hungry they were very bold, and more than one man carrying home his meat exposed to view had his hand cut by a flying thief, who missed his aim when swooping down at it. We often amused ourselves by cutting into small square pieces some bright red lean beef. These were thrown into the air to be caught by the kites upon the wing. After they had all become excited in the contest a shovelful of bright red-hot coals would be substituted, to be as eagerly seized. Surprise and, if gesture meant anything, bad language, followed, as the birds apparently blew on their scorched fingers.

The inevitable photographer had established a "studio," consisting of calico stretched over a wooden frame, but having a double roof as protection from the sun. His presence was the cause of at least one amusing incident. Some excellent fellows, owning, or employed on, various stations, who were in Burketown either for business or recreation, hearing that I wished to get photographs of wild aboriginals of that locality, rounded up from fifty to a hundred, and brought them to the "studio." Several groups were taken, also single subjects, one of whom was a very big but exceedingly ugly old black fellow, a warrior of influence among his people. He was induced to pose in the costume of Adam, by threats from the stockmen armed with rifles and revolvers, and, naturally, his attitude was neither confident nor attractive. The result, however, was a sufficiently satisfactory ethnological picture. It is often asserted that it was the custom of a western American photographer to tell his sitters, cocked

revolver in hand, before snapping his camera shutter, that as his artistic reputation may depend on the picture, he must trouble them for a smile. This is the only occasion on which I know that such a thing absolutely occurred. Being pleased with the scientifically interesting result, I very proudly showed it to a maiden lady of uncertain age, who came to this remote spot to marry an old sweetheart, to whom she had been engaged at home. She was near-sighted, but did not desire to disclose her advancing years by the use of spectacles. Consequently when I handed her the warrior's photograph, she looked at it with much interest and flattened me out by remarking: "Oh, Doctor, it does not half do you justice!"

Life was free and easy in the Gulf country at that time, for though there was a Police Magistrate there were no police to enforce his authority, and he wisely did not attempt to exercise it, except by an occasional mild protest. He joined in most of the fun going on, but once, on a dispute occurring, which resulted in a fractured leg, proclaimed that "if it went much further he would have to take notice of it."

Two serious cases did arise which necessitated action, one in which a quarrel resulted in the death of one of the disputants; the other, perhaps in outside places even more serious, a charge of horse stealing. Both defendants were committed for trial to the nearest circuit Court, then held at Rockhampton, a town distant by the shortest practicable route some 1,500 miles. The accusations were thought too grave to justify bail, and the prisoners were placed in the custody of an old sailor, a river pilot sworn in as special constable. This official

gravely undertook his duty and, armed with a revolver, mounted guard in a hut which had been utilised as a gaol. When evening arrived, having no one to relieve him, he went off duty by giving his charges a pack of cards and a little rum, at the same time handing them the revolver, saying: "Take care of this, boys; I'll be back in the morning." This state of things went on for some time, but as instructions could not be received from the law officers for many weeks, the formality became tedious. A brilliant thought struck some one that it would not be a bad idea to take the prisoners to Sweer's Island, which, being twenty miles off the coast, ought to make a secure prison. This was done, and for a few days all went well, for a change to the seaside was not unwelcome. As, however, there was no kindly gaoler to provide cards and rum, life became monotonous; the men stole a boat, crossed to the mainland, secured horses and some provisions, and rode away, with the intention of reaching outlying stations in the south by passing through unsettled country. This would probably have ended the incident, but for the fact that a body of native police arrived under the command of Inspector Uhr. This officer, with one of his black boys, at once started after the fugitives, and, travelling 700 miles on their tracks, re-arrested and brought them back to Burketown. Shortly after this, orders came to send the offenders to the place of trial, but as no instructions or money for expenses were sent to the witnesses, the prisoners, on being arraigned, were discharged from lack of evidence.

At that time there was no telegraph line, and the mails, carried on a packhorse, took some five or six

weeks to come from Townsville. It might have been thought that the conditions of life would resemble what we read of western American mining camps; but there was no real lawlessness. Firearms, constantly carried out of regard for the savage blacks, having been deposited, quarrels were settled in the old British way by fisticuffs. These fights were generally impromptu, and when they occurred at night they were fought out by the light of candles, the gift of some enthusiastic donor.

When, after a time, the police constables did arrive, there was no place of detention available, and offenders were made secure by a single handcuff on one wrist being fastened by a chain to a long, heavy log. On one occasion it is said that so many riotous drunkards were made fast to it, that on the following morning the first to awake aroused the rest, and as all were suffering from the thirst which follows on such orgies, his proposal that they should jointly carry their prison to the pub for a drink was promptly acted on. The police officer, on coming to inspect his prisoners, found the whole penal establishment had "moved on," but presumably he knew where to look for it. His remonstrances met with an absolute refusal to reinstate it on its proper site unless he stood drinks round. The compromise was accepted and all ended happily.

I quickly established myself in the esteem of the inhabitants during our brief visit to this furthest-out township, and received many interesting gifts, or offers of gifts, the most curious coming from a watchmaker called "Thomas the Uniped," from the fact that he had had a leg amputated between the ankle and knee. The operation had been performed

locally. The doctor, a very competent man, formerly a surgeon in the Royal Artillery, who had been driven to outlandish parts by inebriety, made a complete success of it under extremely adverse conditions. The patient, with much gusto, related the circumstances. The practitioner had lost nearly all his instruments, having only his pocket case left, and he had to divide all the soft parts with a curved bistoury, the one remaining knife the edge of which had not been destroyed by cutting tobacco. The victim said: "The pain of my leg had become unbearable, its cure apparently impossible, and Doctor P. said it must come off, so I made a bargain with him to remove it for £20, and as he said he must have help, I had to give £5 to the butcher for his assistance and the loan of his saw. The operator was to have the limb as a specimen. No payment to be made until I was safely back in bed. By great good fortune there was an adequate supply of chloroform. The result was most successful, and in a comparatively short time I was about on crutches. One day, strolling down the street, I saw my poor old fragment lying opposite the doctor's door. It seems he had put it to macerate in a bucket of water, with a view to cleaning the bones, but coming home drunk one night and wanting water, he took hold of the wrong bucket, and throwing the contents into the roadway went with it to the lagoon. The next morning I saw it, and naturally picked it up, for a man don't like to see his remains a-kicking all over the place. I took it home, scraped the bones clean, and here they are" (producing a sock containing them). "I would like to give you something to remember me by, but I

have nothing else that would interest you, and you are heartily welcome to 'em."

With much delicacy I declined to accept the present, on the ground that in my wanderings I might lose it, whilst to him the bones would always be of interest.

The currency " away back " would now be thought rather remarkable, for no man who could write and had pen, ink, and paper available, was pecuniarily destitute. On first arriving at the inn I put a sovereign on the bar counter, but was much astonished at the excitement it produced. One man seized it and exclaimed : " I'll give you thirty shillings for it." He was rushed by the landlord, who said : " No, you don't, it's mine and was paid to me." There was at once a most lively scrap. All this was quite beyond my comprehension. It appeared that a Government land sale of town lots was fixed for a few weeks later, and the rule that only coin or bank notes would be received in payment of the first deposits was strictly enforced. Therefore, intending purchasers were always on the look-out for such legal tender, which was carefully treasured for the eventful day.

All other transactions were carried out by cheques or I.O.U.'s, which passed current everywhere. The latter were known as " calabashes " and were of varying amounts, the smallest being sixpence, given by someone for a box of matches. I received a handful of such change for my sovereign, after the disputed ownership had been definitely settled.

The country to the north of the coast range is very flat, having been created by the numerous rivers that deposit alluvium during the wet seasons. A

considerable part of it is under water in every rainy year, and when the downpour, which generally lasts from November to March, is unusually heavy, the land resembles a fresh-water sea, with a few islands formed by isolated peaks. What may happen is shown by the fate of Mr. Ronald Merilles and two companions, who for seven weeks were confined by flood to a small patch—less than an acre—being frequently driven out of this by rising water to take refuge in a few large trees that grew on it. After their scanty supply of provisions had become exhausted they had to subsist on the small animals, lizards, and snakes which took refuge with them. Only one of the party survived; the man who had generally been supposed to be the weakest outlasted the others, and was found, when the flood subsided, with life enough left to ensure his recovery.

Another instance of the danger to which the inhabitants were subjected is shown by the escape of the owners of Floraville Station on the Leichardt River. The house was erected on a slight knoll, rising sixty feet above the bank of the stream, the water of which during the dry season was sixty feet below it. On one occasion the rains were so heavy over the whole watershed that the river overflowed its channel, and rose high enough to reach the eaves of the house, driving the occupants to take refuge on the roof, where they remained for several days. At last, in desperation, they succeeded by diving in getting from the workshop the necessary bolts and tools to make a boat from the sheets of roof iron. When finished, it was found insufficient to carry the whole party, so the two best swimmers had to hang on to the gunwale on either side, and so

keep themselves afloat during the ten-mile trip required to reach the nearest dry ground.

After about a fortnight, the whole of our party having visited Burketown in rotation, we returned to the ship at Sweer's Island. This place is of considerable historic interest, for it was visited by Tasman in 1644. Flinders in 1802 marked a tree on it with the name of his ship, the *Investigator*. I examined with much interest this relic, which was then growing. It has since died, and is now deposited in the Brisbane Museum.

Large numbers of turtles, both the edible green ones and the hawksbill, frequent this and the neighbouring islands to deposit their eggs in the sandy beaches. Flinders records that on Bountiful Island, a little to the north, more were captured in a single night than his ship could carry. After sixty had been taken on board the remainder were liberated. The eggs are remarkably like a ping-pong ball, about two inches in diameter. They are enclosed in a parchment-like covering that, when the egg is fresh, appears not to be quite filled, but after a few days becomes tense and round. They make good puddings and cakes, and are very palatable to hungry men if suitably cooked. When boiled, however, they are a failure, as the white does not coagulate like a hen's, whilst the yolk gets hard and floury, resembling a lump of peas-pudding. Later on I collected nearly a boatload from a sandbank further west, also some turtle. The latter were a disappointment, for our cook could not rise to the occasion, and the soup without a competent *chef* is of necessity a failure, though the steaks and cutlets were more palatable.

On our return to Maria Island, on September 5, we found the horses half crazy with thirst. They had drunk all the water in the rocky holes, and were then left without any, as the aborigines had come from the mainland, and, having learnt the merits of iron from the Malays, had demolished the tubs to secure the hoops, thus wasting the supply of water left in them. The natives also carried off the grindstone, which had been hidden on the island, for the sake of the spindle. Whether from ignorance of how to make use of it, or from alarm at discovering the approach of the ship, the stone was abandoned by the thieves, and, much to our advantage, recovered uninjured. It was not until we were faced with its loss that we realised its importance. We had brought as much coal as could be carried, but when it got scanty we had to depend on wood for fuel, the furnaces being altered to burn either as required. It was trying enough to the ship's company to cut sufficient, even when their number had been increased by the addition at Sweer's Island of seven natives of Sandwich, one of the New Hebrides Group. The difficulty would have been far worse had they been obliged to use blunt axes. The absence of any means of sharpening them would probably have necessitated the early abandonment of the expedition.

The morning after anchoring, parties were again sent away in the boats to examine and make rough surveys of the coast opposite Maria Island. With possibly the exception of Tasman, who named it after his sweetheart, the daughter of Van Diemen, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies about the year 1642, this islet had never been visited by anyone.

One of the stores which we were unable to replenish at the outlying settlement was oil for the machinery. With the object, therefore, of obtaining this essential, I began to fish for sharks. In a very short time I secured one, so large that when it had been hoisted by a rope looped round the tail, so close to the block of one of the boat davits that the whole of the fin part was above it, a couple of feet were still below the water. It was disabled by the division of the spine immediately behind the head. I soon had another of about the same size hanging on the other side of the ship. The blood dripping from the wounds of both quickly brought others to the surface, and their number was almost inconceivable. They rolled over and over, fighting and snapping at each other until the sea looked like a pig-yard adjoining a slaughterhouse. Armed with a rifle, I shot several, amongst them a gigantic one, which was so ravenous and bold that, suddenly rising out of the water, it swallowed the head and shoulders of one of those suspended, until it was prevented taking more by the side fins, which projected at either corner of its mouth. This one I could make sure of killing by putting my muzzle almost in contact with the depression over the spine just at its junction with the head. The bite made gashes resembling razor cuts all round the carcase, but my shot rendered the monster incapable of doing more damage. Its grip loosened, and turning over, it sank to the bottom. The ease with which it took in so large a part of the hanging fish, which must have been at least fourteen feet long with a diameter of three, goes to prove that its length must have considerably exceeded twenty feet.

The livers of the two sharks secured, although very imperfectly tried out, yielded upwards of eleven gallons of the class of oil we needed. Later on I repeated my performance in a bay farther up the west coast of the gulf, where these ravenous brutes were equally numerous.

Considerable profit might be earned by shark-fishing in many parts of the Australian coast, if a party had a good-sized sailing vessel, say of 200 tons, properly equipped for the purpose. The returns would be the oil from the livers, the fins and tails saleable to the Chinese at three or four shillings a pound, and the hides, that could be used like alligator skins for bags and similar purposes. Something worth considering might also be realised from the jaws and backbones as curios, and for use as walking-sticks. Another profitable opening for enterprise exists in the capture of turtle, were a similar vessel fitted with a plant for canning them.

A few days later we made our way up the coast, calling at various places, until we saw an opening between Caledon Bay and Cape Arnheim. Sending a boat ahead to take soundings, we entered a harbour of the type of that of Sydney. It has a narrow entrance and somewhat less depth of water, but is even more beautiful, for scattered over its surface are five or six rocky islets looking like ruined castles, and a number of clear flowing streams, running through undulating country, find outlet there. These have their source in a range of hills of considerable height some fifteen or twenty miles inland. Taking a boat, I had a pleasant excursion, coming back with a number of pigeons and a plentiful supply of exceedingly good oysters gathered from the islands. The

place was very picturesque, but the absence of any sign of occupation made it less beautiful than it would have been had there been occasional houses showing amongst the tropical foliage. I do not think anyone has since visited the place now charted as Cadell Harbour, nor is it likely that they will, for the country is not suitable for pasturage, and the only inducement might be mining, were the back country diligently prospected.

We made our way westwards, adding particulars to the charts, until we entered Van Diemen's Gulf through Dundas Straits, between Melville Island and the Coburg Peninsula. Anchoring the first night shortly after our entry, and not very far from the island, we experienced a rare natural phenomenon. About nine p.m. a very heavy squall came up from the north-west, quite an ordinary occurrence at the change of the monsoons, but in this instance unusually early. Accompanied by extremely heavy rain with terrific lightning and thunder, it lasted over half an hour. Going on deck after the downpour had ceased, I was startled by a loud, continuous crackling. Upon looking up I saw every stay brilliantly illuminated by globes of fire about nine inches in diameter, travelling very rapidly along them. I was awe-struck and, carefully avoiding contact, watched them for the few minutes during which this amazing spectacle lasted.

The next day, October 31, we arrived at Escape Cliffe, the site of a settlement established some four years previously by South Australia. It had been abandoned about a year, and all the houses had been left standing. Upon anchoring, we were a little surprised to see an ensign hoisted on a flagstaff, jack

downwards, and at the landing were met by a big old native, simply attired in a broad-brimmed California felt hat, and carrying a surveyor's red flag. He greeted our leader cordially, bowing and shaking hands, although only able to speak a few intelligible words of English. He appeared, however, to be highly intelligent, and an adept at conveying his meaning by signs.

We were conducted all over the abandoned settlement and to the deserted gardens, from which we got bananas, pine-apples, and some other fruits. The blacks made us understand that they had been placed in charge, and that certain things had been given them, and that others were entrusted to their care. None of them knew enough of our language to converse in it easily.

During the last months of occupation, and whilst awaiting instructions, little work was carried on, especially by the surveying parties. The men amused themselves by teaching songs, generally those of the Christy Minstrel type, to the blacks. The latter picked up the tunes perfectly, and in a great measure the words, though some were missing, and had to be supplied by improvisation. They kept perfect tune, and did not crowd the words they knew together, but kept them to their proper places with interspersed gibberish as required. "Camp-down Races" was a special favourite with them, as it is said to have been with Gladstone.

We passed on to Port Darwin, anchoring there after dark before half-ebb. The rise and fall exceeds thirty feet, and before the change of tide the ship was left aground, to be lifted and dropped on the bottom by small waves, until she again floated with the flood.

We stayed here only a few hours, and then coasted along to the Victoria River, which we entered on November 4, ascending some fifty miles and dropping our anchor in a sheltered angle, which was, however, the site of a violent eddy. The place was chosen as affording fair facility for obtaining wood for our furnaces, but it was within the influence of the tide and the salt water. Our search on shore for fresh water was unsuccessful, and we had to depend on condensation. Consequently the supply was very scanty for the tropics, as economy in the consumption of fuel was essential.

Nine days later we hove anchor, and made our way to the open sea. There is magnificent grazing country higher up the river, but we did not reach it. At that time there was no settlement within at least 2,000 miles, but now it is well stocked with highly bred cattle, one station having nearly 100,000 head upon it. The bullocks are sent in the charge of skilled drovers to market in the Eastern States, sometimes in favourable seasons to be sold as "fats" for slaughtering, at others as stores to stock-fattening paddocks. The country passed through is so good that, with a capable man in charge, there is but little loss on this prolonged journey, which may take more than twelve months to accomplish.

Near the sea the country on the Victoria is extremely sterile. It is also a dangerous port on account of the velocity of the tides, and the numerous sand and mud banks which make the channel very intricate and probably variable.

Provisions ran short, and as the largest proportion of the ballast had been removed before starting, to

be replaced with coal, the ship was in exceedingly bad trim, our position being therefore most precarious. A course was laid for Kopang, a Dutch settlement in the island of Timor, to obtain coal and food. Both these necessaries were so nearly exhausted that on dropping anchor in Kopang everything combustible had been burnt in the furnaces, even to the lining of the hold, whilst our provisions were reduced to less than fifty pounds of foodstuffs.

The appearance of the island is very wild and picturesque, for lofty mountains run sheer down to the sea, which deepens so suddenly that the lead shows no bottom close to the shore. As we coasted along at night, which we did for about a hundred miles, we could see the fires of the natives glittering high up, apparently at the edge of precipices. The position of their villages showed how mutually hostile the people were, as the sites were evidently selected with a view to defence. The Dutch had but little authority beyond a few miles from Kopang, at which place there are a few white officers with Japanese soldiers. We arrived on November 19, and were courteously treated by the Governing Resident and his officials, every facility being afforded us for replenishing our exhausted fuel and stores. Outside the Government service there were only two Europeans, one of whom was a Scotchman, Captain Drysdale; the other was a Mr. Taylor in the employ of his firm. One man professed great satisfaction in his English descent; but as he also had strains of Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, and Malay blood, his pride of race had but small foundation. The Scotchman was a son of Sir John Drysdale, who

was Lord Provost of Edinburgh about the time when George IV. visited that city and donned the kilt.

Mr. Taylor was a Londoner who showed great pluck and enterprise in travelling about the island collecting produce for the firm. Some hides, a little gold, and large quantities of beeswax were the principal items obtainable. This gentleman, an exceedingly courteous, pleasant fellow, shortly afterwards left Timor for Singapore, and was subsequently appointed Inspector of Police at Perak, in the Malay Peninsula. He there contracted pulmonary tuberculosis, and in 1871 came to Sydney for treatment, making his way to Scone, where I gladly returned his kindness to me when in Timor. As my guest he improved materially for a time, but one afternoon he was attacked by profuse hemorrhage of the lungs, and died almost instantly in my arms in the verandah of my house.

Our horses, with the exception of two, had been released on the Liverpool River ; but I now landed one of the two we had retained—a big fellow over sixteen hands high—and rode a few miles in the country in different directions. Although the natives had been accustomed to ponies from time immemorial, they were simply terror-stricken at my big horse, and on meeting me in the roads, which were mere bridle paths, would at once drop their burdens, often climbing trees for safety. I received a call from a chief who, as heir apparent to a local Sultan, was designated Rajah-Moeda Hendrik Tapoota, the first two words being his title, the remainder his name. In accordance with the custom as explained to me, I made him a present on his departure of a couple of bottles of brandy and some

flasks of gunpowder. Through a friend who interpreted he pressed me to visit his house, arranging for me to go out the next day, which I accordingly did, arriving after a ride of about six miles. It was a fairly large erection, built in a fashion somewhat resembling "pisé,"* and boasting several rooms. All those I entered were decorated with pictures from English illustrated papers stuck upon the walls. I was hospitably entertained, but though he informed me that he was a Christian, he was privileged to have four wives. I saw none of them. He conducted me through several villages back to the Dutch settlement and returned my presents with interest; his gifts however, took rather an embarrassing form, for I found three of his servants waiting at the landing-place, two carrying a pig, the other leading by the hand a pretty Malay girl of about fifteen, becomingly dressed in a sarong, and decorated with flowers. The pig we ate.

The whole party, who had been greatly debilitated by the climate, hard work, and privation on the North Australian coast, some having developed scurvy, rapidly recovered fair health with rest, fresh provisions, vegetables and fruit, which, as medical officer, I speedily procured. A plentiful supply of native labour afforded the repose so well earned by the manual workers of our party. Those holding higher positions were introduced to the club, and treated most hospitably by the civil and military officers. I was warmly welcomed as a professional colleague by Dr. Van de Velde, the surgeon to the forces on the station, who made me free of his house.

* The walls consisting of clay, rammed into wooden frames, that are subsequently removed.

All transactions were in cash, and one felt it slightly ridiculous when visiting various shops (always owned by Chinese), to purchase stores in any quantity, to be accompanied by one or more men carrying weighty bags of silver guelders, the only money current there.

We took on board all the coal we could purchase, which proved enough, with the aid of firewood cut at Cape York, to steam to Townsville. Our stores were replenished, but for meat we had to ship live buffalo and sheep. The former were the mud-ox, of the same kind as those formerly taken to Port Essington, from which are descended the immense herds now found in North Australia; the latter strange looking animals without wool, black and white in colour, and more like goats than sheep.

Leaving Kopang on December 1, we reached Somerset on the 5th, and after staying there long enough to get firewood, which a number of Kanakas belonging to a bêche-de-mer station helped the crew to cut, we started by the inner route to the south. During our stay I was taken by Mr. Frank Jardine to see his cattle station at Newcastle Bay, he having brought riding horses to the settlement. The ship purchased a bullock from him, which I assisted to kill and salt. As the weather was hot, we chose one of the smaller ones, but even this weighed, when dressed, over a thousand pounds. This showed how good the pasturage was, for though so weighty it did not appear unusually large, being in prime condition and very compact. The chief drawback to cattle-breeding there was the destruction of calves and even of older beasts by crocodiles, when going to the water for a drink.

Our passage south was uneventful until we got to the south of Lizard Island, when, on Christmas morning, the ship ran on a reef about twenty miles from the Endeavour River, Captain Cook's harbour of refuge when repairing his ship for the last time. She went about half her length on it, and though aground forward when drawing ten feet, she had forty under her stern. As it was near high water we were in dread that if the ebb set in she would slip off and sink stern first, for she was just balanced. A kedge anchor on a coir hawser was quickly laid out by a boat and hauled taut. This, however, did not move her until the whole party began to run up and down the deck, keeping step. The manœuvre set up sufficient vibration to start her, and the strain on the hawser pulled her off the reef before the falling water made it impossible. It was a mighty narrow escape, but proved to be our final experience of going aground. As a matter of course, after nearly a year's trip, our boiler and engines were very much out of repair, but still, after calling at Townsville and Bowen, we reached Sydney in safety on January 20, 1868, passing through the steamer fleet that was going out to meet H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, who in H.M.S. *Galatea* was then entering Port Jackson. As a returning exploring expedition, we received a hearty greeting from the vessels, the crews of which manned the yards and loudly cheered in our honour.

CHAPTER III

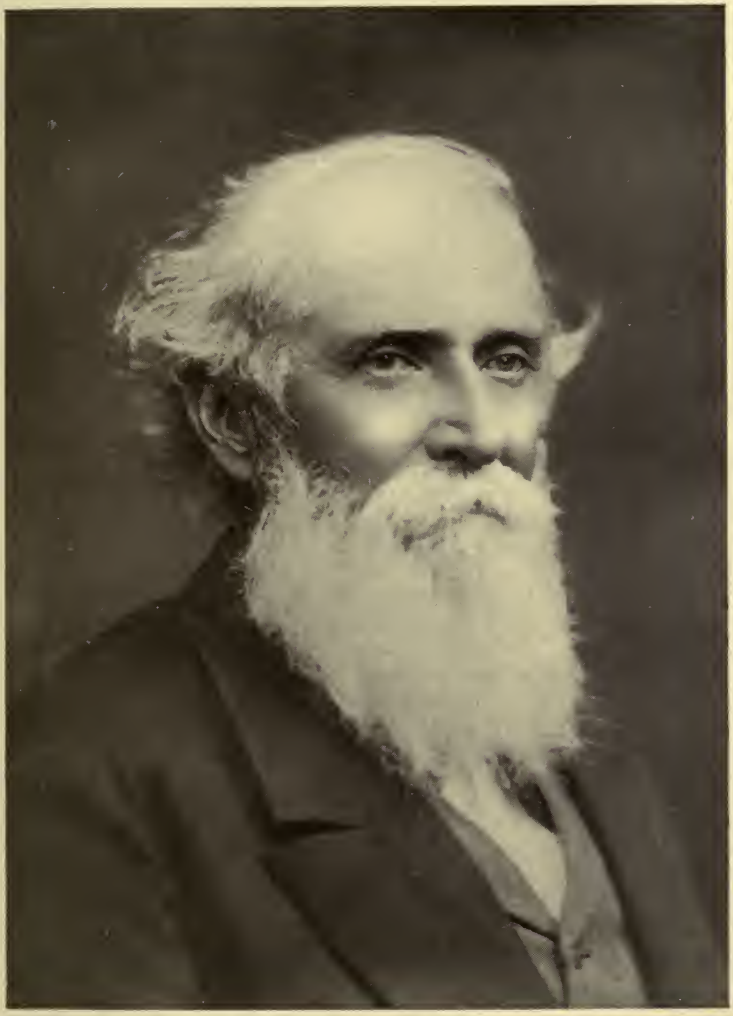
LIFE IN SCONE

Sydney—The Hon. John Robertson—Mr. J. C. Macdonald—Visit of the Duke of Edinburgh—" Bêche-de-mer " Soup—A Loyal Chef—Practice in Scone—I am Elected to Parliament as Representative for the Upper Hunter District—Strenuous Electioneering Work—" Closer Settlement "—The Release of the Bushranger, Frank Gardiner—I Retire from Parliament—Cottage Hospital at Scone—Practice in the Australian Bush—Appointed Justice of the Peace—An Impudent Black Man—The Climate—Sunstroke a Bacterial Disease—Danger of Flooded Creeks—" Paddy the Soldier "—History of Scone District—Mr. Francis Little of Invermein Downs—Miss Little and Thomas Carlyle—Famous Visitors to Dr. Little at Cressfield—" Larry "—Foreign Settlers in Australia—Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong (Madame Melba)—Mr. Armstrong Conquers the " Broncho-Buster " at the " Wild West "—Bush Riders—Mustering Wild Stock—Wild Horses—Our Pets—Fossil Remains—The Bunyip and other Mythical Animals.

I LANDED a most dilapidated object, for I had but a few old clothes left, so my first visit was to a tailor, who built me a suit in thirty-six hours, while in the meantime I remained hidden in the Royal Hotel.

As soon as I was presentable I was introduced to the Honourable (later Sir) John Robertson, formerly —and many times subsequently—Prime Minister of New South Wales, but at that moment leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly. He kindly proposed me as an Honorary Member of the Victoria

Club, where I had the opportunity of meeting many men of prominence in the state. This gentleman, with his partners, Captain Towns and Mr. J. G. Macdonald, was largely interested in pastoral properties in northern Queensland, which then gave every prospect of being highly remunerative. But vicissitudes resulting from situation, climate, the markets and finance, rendered success in this large venture impossible for the time being. The stock had to be removed, and the country, many thousands of square miles in extent, abandoned. In more recent years the whole has been reoccupied, and is now exceedingly valuable. These districts, as I have previously stated, were then very inaccessible, but they are now, in part, served by railways that are being pushed forward as fast as production justifies their existence, until the time—now not very far distant—will come when they will all be brought within reasonable distance of the great centres of commerce. Mr. Macdonald, a most enterprising man, was a skilled explorer, a fine judge of country, and a shrewd station manager. He could make his way through any country, accompanied by one or two black boys, who were his devoted servants on such excursions. Unlike most travellers in an unknown country, he was as careful of his toilet when there as in town, and he is credited with insisting that shoe brushes and blacking should always be included in his outfit. Every morning while he was still rolled in his blankets, lying on the bare ground, his riding boots, highly polished by one of the blacks, were placed by his side. He is still living in his highly respected old age in the neighbourhood of Brisbane, after materially assisting in



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the development of the northern part of the Northern State.

Sydney was then crowded to its utmost by visitors from all parts, eager to join in the festivities organised in honour of the Duke of Edinburgh, and I was invited to take part in them.

I gave a luncheon at an hotel kept by a local celebrity, where some of the officers of H.M.S. *Galatea*, the Duke's ship, had an opportunity of sampling his famous " bêche-de-mer " soup, which is far superior to turtle. Our Boniface had an excellent receipt and his *chef* always made it a great success. On hearing of it from the officers, the Duke determined to try it himself, and accordingly ordered lunch at the hotel on purpose to do so. It happened, however, that in the interval the good *chef* had gone off for a well-earned holiday in the country. Urgent messages accordingly were sent, telling him that the Duke was coming specially to try the famous soup. Rather than disappoint the distinguished guest the loyal *chef* gave up his holiday and returned posthaste to Sydney, just in time to prepare the luncheon. On his return we all jokingly praised him for his patriotism in giving up his holiday to prepare the Duke's soup, and made something of a hero of him. Our feeling can be imagined when we found out later on that it was not patriotism but indigestion that had brought him back to Sydney. On his holiday he had unwisely indulged in some very unripe fruit, and in his subsequent suffering he had hastened to regain the comfort of his home, and had been on the point of leaving for Sydney when the first urgent messages of recall reached him.

A few weeks later, on March 8, I accepted an invitation to visit the Hunter River districts. The next day I arrived at Scone after a fatiguing coach journey, for at that time the railway only reached Singleton. My intention was to stay about fourteen days before returning to my home near Melbourne. However, events occurred which resulted in my staying there for fourteen years.

In a few days, almost in spite of myself, I found that I was in the active and very lucrative practice of my profession, for medical men were scarce at that time, and shortly afterwards I married and settled down to routine work. Luckily my boyhood's experience had taught me to ride, and in this I had an advantage over many new chum* doctors, whose first efforts at horsemanship were frequently the subject of much interest and amusement to their prospective patients. I was then a light weight, and gained credit for the promptitude and rapidity with which I accomplished long journeys to meet professional calls.

By keeping my eyes open to all that was going on, and by conversation with any and everybody, I soon acquired a considerable knowledge of local and general political opinion, and gauged the wishes and requirements of the population, so that in less than four years—in February, 1872—I was elected to Parliament as representative of the Upper Hunter District. This constituency was very large, being about 50 by 120 miles in extent. Although my opponent was a much esteemed and very wealthy pastoralist, I had the gratification of finding on the declaration of

* The term applied to a stranger recently arrived in the Commonwealth and New Zealand.

the poll that I was returned by a very large majority ; and although I did not obtain a majority of the votes at every polling place, yet my totals were the largest wherever I was best known ; decreasing proportionately just in those centres where the electors had less personal knowledge of me. Undoubtedly the greatest factor in my success was the letter I contributed to the Press, in which I criticised very trenchantly a "Land Bill" introduced by the Martin-Robertson Coalition Government. The principles advocated by me in this letter were so favourably received that they would have ensured me a seat, even had I been defeated—as was at first thought probable—in my own district. Numerous communications reached me from various parts of the State, asking my consent to nomination in other electorates in the event of my failure.

Electioneering was arduous work, for though I thought myself extremely fortunate that the period between the issue of the writs and the nomination (mine being the earliest contest) was but fourteen days, yet it necessitated considerable activity to make my views known, except as regards the Land Bill. On one day, with relays of horses, I rode ninety miles and addressed four meetings. The fortnight's work nearly "knocked me out," for in that short time I went down from 11 stone 5 lbs. to 10 stone 5 lbs. I also "lost leather." I was, therefore, justified in telling the electors in my hustings speech that though I was not going to assert, as rasher men might, that I was willing to spend my blood on their behalf, I could truly say that I had shed fourteen pounds of fat and four square inches of skin in their cause.

In my letter, already mentioned, first published in the Sydney *Morning Herald* on December 6, 1871, I advocated "Closer Settlement," which has now become one of the most important political questions. As the mere title may not be explanatory except to Australians, I may say that closer settlement means the purchase by the State Government of large freehold estates, near railways, used for pastoral purposes, at their market value, for resale to smaller holders who desire to utilise them for agriculture. I also protested against the principal provision of the measure then proposed. This was to enable the possessors of pastoral leaseholds to secure sixteen thousand acres of them at the price—in a large proportion of cases—of five shillings per acre, with easy conditions of improvement and residence. Had this measure become law, a great number of the pastoral leaseholders would have availed themselves of this provision, with the result that the need for the wholesale resumption of large estates would be more urgent than it now is, and the burden on the State so much the greater. However, in consequence of public opinion, being generally adverse, the Bill was dropped, and nothing resembling it has ever again been proposed. I think I am justified in considering that this result was in a great measure due to me and my letter.

After my victory at the polls I was gratified and amused by the puzzled expression on the faces of many persons to whom I was first introduced. My Press work and speeches had apparently conveyed the impression that I was an older and more experienced man, which idea was dispelled by personal inspection, for, though I was nearly thirty, my

appearance was so youthful that I sometimes overheard quiet discussions as to whether I could really be of age.

My election cost me very little, as a committee was formed to arrange for the payment of the necessary costs of printing, public meetings, etc., while I made it a vital principle that nothing should be spent, either by myself or my principal supporters, in treating any of the electors. This principle was strictly adhered to, except in one instance, where I received a bill for £18 18s. for somewhat doubtful election expenses. In sending a cheque for the amount, I reiterated in no uncertain terms the principles which I avowed on the hustings: "that I did not think it necessary to insult any elector by supposing it was necessary to shout grog for him in order to secure his vote."

I remained a representative during the seventh Parliament, in which I generally supported Sir Henry Parkes' Government. He came into office on the defeat of Sir James Martin, against whose land policy the feeling of the country was so strong that, on the meeting of the House, his Government was beaten by a large majority on the address in reply to the Governor's speech. Sir Alfred Stephen, as Lieutenant-Governor, was then filling the office of Administrator during the interregnum between the departure of the Earl of Belmore and the arrival of Sir Hercules Robinson. At this juncture he first requested the Honourable William Forster to form a Ministry, but when, after a few days' effort, the latter gave up the task, Mr. Parkes was sent for. This was his first Premiership. He so chose his colleagues as to create a strong administration, which

had unbroken success until, in the latter part of 1874, another crisis arose in consequence of the release of the notorious bushranger, Frank Gardiner, before the termination of his sentence.

The general opposition to his release was due not so much to the fear that he might relapse into his evil ways, as to the feeling that it was unjust to show leniency to the man whose audacious example had led many foolish young men into crime, which, in many instances, had culminated in their death, either at the hands of the police in their endeavours to arrest them, or upon the gallows. It is true that no human life was taken by Frank Gardiner, but a considerable number of lives were lost through the bloodthirsty recklessness of his imitators, many of whom, as the result of their misdeeds, deserved to be shot upon sight, as indeed happened to several of them. I voted against Gardiner's release.

The new Ministry did not venture to propose a fresh land policy, feeling, perhaps, that the fate of its predecessor following on the attempt to deal with so difficult a problem was a sufficient warning.

By moving resolutions in the House, and by suggesting the publication in the Home Press of such particulars regarding the cost of living and the remuneration for employment as might induce thoughtful and enterprising people to consider the prospects afforded them in this new country, I tried to encourage immigration, although I was not successful in carrying through my ideas at the time. In later years my colleagues of that period have often expressed regret that they did not give my propositions the support they deserved; some have remarked that the steps I then suggested might have

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hastened the development of the export of dairy produce, now one of the most valuable staple industries of Australia. About this time an Act was passed reducing the duration of Parliament from seven to three years, which is now its period of life in New South Wales.

On the dissolution of the seventh Parliament, which took place in the last days of 1874, I felt that I ought no longer to neglect my practice as a medical man, and decided not to become a candidate for re-election. From this time until 1882 I kept steadily to my professional work, which was very arduous, only from time to time taking a minor part in political contests.

When I settled at Scone there was no place for the reception of serious cases of accident or illness. A considerable sum had, however, accumulated in the hands of a local Benevolent Society from the excess of its receipts over expenditure. Some of the people by whose careful management the fund had become so prosperous were strenuously opposed to any part of this being expended in building ; but I urged the expediency of erecting a cottage hospital to which grave cases could be admitted for treatment. I was able to show that it was urgently needed, and that it was not right that very bad cases, in which life itself depended on hospital treatment, should have to be taken to similar institutions in the nearest towns, Muswellbrook and Murrurundi ; these towns, moreover, were only near in the parlance of a new country, for the former was sixteen and the latter twenty-five miles from Scone. Exigencies, however, frequently arose which necessitated my visiting these hospitals and performing operations there.

My efforts on behalf of the cottage hospital in Scone were successful, and under the zealous administration of a capable committee it became a great boon to suffering humanity, and saved many lives which would otherwise have been lost. I remained Medical Officer of the institution until I left Scone for good, when I was much gratified by the receipt of resolutions from the respective committees of the three hospitals, expressing their thanks for my services.

Country practice in Australia is eminently useful in establishing self-reliance in a medical man. He has often to undertake the responsibilities of prompt action in very grave cases, which doctors in older and more thickly populated districts would only share with others in consultation. Life and death may be in the balance, and on his courage and personal skill the result will depend. Operations had frequently to be performed at some lonely hut in the bush, the surgeon depending for absolutely necessary assistance on the friends and neighbours of the sufferer. For instance, on one occasion I had to amputate a boy's arm with only the aid of the father and mother of the patient to continue the administration of the chloroform and assist in the removal. Bad as it was for me, it was far worse for them, and they fainted alternately, only to be called upon for help as soon as they came to.

In the Australian bush a doctor who gains the esteem of the people is soon of social importance, and he is often expected to take a leading part in the civic life of his district. Little more than a year after my arrival I was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and had to share in the work of the police

courts, so that I have now been a magistrate for more than forty years.

Shortly after I took up my residence in the district an incident occurred which, though exceedingly disagreeable at the time, no doubt saved me from much subsequent annoyance. When driving one day with my wife I passed three travelling stockmen, two white, the third an aboriginal. They had all been drinking enough to be thoroughly objectionable. The whites encouraging the black fellow, he became abusive, and galloped close to my buggy, passing forwards and backwards repeatedly and so exciting my mare, which was a highly-bred animal, that we were in danger of an accident. I had no choice but to drive on to a roadside inn about two miles away. Unluckily, when we reached it we found all the men absent, so I asked the landlady to lend me a hammer-headed crop or loaded stick, that I might effectively protect the wife and myself. Hearing this, the ruffian got off his horse and seized my reins, when, having no other weapon, I gave him a sound thrashing with the whalebone buggy whip. My blows were so vigorous and incessant that for a time he was too confused to retaliate ; but when he stooped to pick up a stone to throw at my head I realised that something more drastic was necessary. Throwing the reins to my wife, I jumped at the ruffian, landing a blow between his eyes with my fist as I did so. The impetus of my spring and the force of my blow effectively bowled him over and over. I then rolled him on his face and, sitting on his back, called to the girls of the house to bring me some clothes-line, which they promptly did. The shock he got had quietened him, and, tying him hand

and foot, I left him a neat bundle for the police, for whom I had sent. My little adventure soon got known, and I began to realise that flash youths who might have been insolent hesitated to take on the contract. Therefore, but for the alarm and distress of the wife, the affair was not without its advantages.

In fine weather, except in the height of the summer, the long rides, or, when possible, drives were not unpleasant. I have, however, been compelled to ride all day with the thermometer registering 115° F. in the shade. The air was, however, so exceedingly dry that there was no visible sweat on either horse or man. Perspiration must have been excessive, but it dried as soon as it formed, so that normal temperature was maintained in both. Under such conditions the rarity in Australia of what is known as sunstroke is remarkable. The theory which has been advanced—I cannot recollect by whom—that sunstroke may be a bacterial disease is, in my opinion, not without some basis of probability. If there is not some such existing cause, how can the very great frequency of cases in New York as compared with Australia be accounted for? In the former, with only about 90 degrees of heat, there are a large number of cases. In Australia, where the temperature has even reached 125, there are very few, and even these are probably often cases of ordinary apoplexy or heart failure. A former resident for fifteen years in Jerusalem tells me that a similar rarity of cases of sunstroke has been observed in Palestine, where the climate is like that of Australia. Is it not possible that some microbe remains quiescent until the moist heat renders it active? May it not be conceivable that such a germ

is always present in America? The fact that quinine administered by hypodermic injection has been found an effective treatment for sunstroke in India goes to support my contention.

A bird is immune from anthrax because its normal temperature is so much higher than that of a mammal. Pasteur by experiment showed that a fowl whose temperature had been reduced by immersion in ice might be infected, but that on its normal heat being restored the symptoms manifested at once disappeared. May not the converse be true of sunstroke, the adopted treatment for which is douching the whole body, not the head alone, with iced water? I am, myself, of opinion that a valuable adjunct would be the hypodermic injection of strychnia, the effect of which would be to restore the tonicity of the bloodvessels, especially the capillaries, by its restorative effect on the vaso-motor system. During my whole experience I have only seen one case which could reasonably be regarded as sunstroke, and I am strongly of opinion that it was a case of ordinary apoplexy, accelerated by the intense heat.

Really wet weather, the more frequent occurrence of which would be a great gain to Australia, is not only disagreeable but often dangerous to doctors, or others, compelled to make journeys. The streams, in Australia called creeks, may be quite dry for months at a time; yet in a couple of hours they can become raging torrents, in crossing which men and their horses are frequently drowned. The most dangerous creeks are the narrow ones with steep banks on both sides, having a road cut to the fords. The banks may be from ten to twenty feet high, and,

if the current is sufficiently strong to take a mounted horse off his feet, he may be carried past the opposite landing-place; being unable to climb the steep declivities bordering the stream on both sides, which may extend for miles, he becomes exhausted, and perishes with his rider. During a flood year I had some experience of this danger, and on one occasion I was forced to take shelter in a house, to which I was confined for three days by the waters rising on all sides, much to the alarm of my people, for I was completely cut off from communication with them. A man compelled to abandon his saddle in a flooded creek has but a poor chance, for it is almost impossible for him to swim in riding boots, which fill with water, to say nothing of his clothes.

As a matter of course, a doctor is more likely than most men to be brought into intimate contact with odd people. I sometimes had as a pilot, when called out at night, a man known as "Paddy the Soldier," formerly a private in the Connaught Rangers. He had strange ways of expressing himself, so that when the darkness and the rough road made any pace beyond a walk impossible, and our horses had to be left to their own guidance, chatting with him was the best way of passing the time. Having been one of the storming party at the Redan, his account of his experiences at that critical hour was most entertaining. I remember how he used to say: "Sure, Doctor! waiting in them trenches for the signals weren't no nice contract, but when it *did* come, away we went. A bit of a shell which dropped near me soon after the start, close up finished me, for it cut the back of my tunic and my braces without hurting me, and running along holding my breeches up with

one hand and carrying my firelock in the other agin' them blooming Roosians were a lively job." I also got some account of his later experiences in the Indian Mutiny, when he took part in the storming of Delhi. I said: "Did you take any prisoners, Paddy?" He replied: "Well, sir, the officers tould us to use our own discretion, and we did!" A most expressive phrase, for at that time every rebel was bayoneted as soon as reached. His expressions of contempt for the Fenians needed no spicing, even by their most determined opponents. He used to say: "The dashed fools! they don't know 'the Widdy's power'; I'd dearly like to have a go at 'em with the ould ridgment."

The Scone district was first visited by white men in 1824. Mr. Archibald Bell, who represented it in the Assembly from 1868 to 1872, and who was a member of the Legislative Council from 1870 until his death in 1883, was the earliest explorer in search of good country. He chose what is now Pickering, near Denman, for Captain Pike, and Milgarra on the Upper Wybong Creek for himself. Both of these grants are now the property of his sons, and their fertility and carrying capacity for stock are good proofs of the excellence of his judgment in estimating the pastoral value of undeveloped land.

The first visitor to the actual site of the present prosperous town of Scone was the late Mr. Francis Little, who travelled up the Dartbrook with a small party until he arrived at what are now known as the Invermein Downs, which, with some adjoining country, was granted to him by the then Governor as a homestead. About 1880 I was told by an old black fellow the particulars of the arrival of the

explorers at this place. He was then but a little boy, and with some members of his tribe met the party when crossing the Downs. The natives do not appear to have been greatly alarmed, as they entered into friendly relations very quickly. The child was given a piece of biscuit, and he told me that, not knowing what it was for, he quietly dropped it on the ground and scraped the earth over it with his foot. When I knew him he was old and grey, but very intelligent, and so general a favourite that he was always sure of sufficient food when he needed it. Clothing, which had become necessary to him, was willingly given, whilst for lodging he preferred the open air with a shelter on the windward side.

Dr. Archibald Little, a younger brother of the Frank Little mentioned above, a graduate in medicine of Edinburgh University, followed shortly after the others and received another grant, which he called Cressfield. Both places were named after properties long in the possession of the family near Ecclefechan in Dumfriesshire, the birthplace and early residence of Thomas Carlyle. That celebrated man was well known to the Littles, the doctor's sister, Miss Maxwell Little, often speaking of him to me as "Tom Carlyle," whom she remembered as a boy "mixing mortar to help his father build cowhouses for my father," at the original Invermein in Scotland. Carlyle evidently had a great esteem for her, as he sent her an autographed copy of every photograph that was taken of him in later life. James Carlyle, a farmer and stonemason of Ecclefechan, had three sons: Thomas, the eldest, is known to the whole world; the second, John, after taking the M.D. of Edinburgh, was tutor to Miss Little's brother, the

doctor, and afterwards travelling physician to the Duke of Buccleuch; whilst the third, James, followed his father's calling. In the eyes of his neighbours, so I am told, the last-named was much the most esteemed of the three, as they said with pride that he bred the best pigs in Dumfriesshire.

Cressfield, during its possession by Dr. Little, had many visitors, and some of world-wide celebrity, including Huxley, Darwin, and Governor Eyre, who in his early manhood had a station not far distant, over the adjacent Liverpool Range. This he gave up to go "over-landing," with cattle and sheep to Adelaide, and subsequently to make his successful, though perilous, journey of exploration from that place to Western Australia.

Gould, the naturalist, was also a visitor to Cressfield during his prolonged stay with his brother-in-law, Stephen Coxen, at Yarrundi, a homestead about five miles away. He made a considerable portion of his marvellous ornithological collection in that locality, and many specimens are set down in his works as having been first obtained at Yarrundi. His special henchman was an aboriginal called "Larry," who, when furnished with a gun and ammunition, became a most enthusiastic and successful collector. This black fellow was a man of marked personality and courage, as was proved when later in life he received such accidental injury as to produce suppuration and consequent disorganisation in his knee joint. He refused conveyance to the nearest hospital, nearly a hundred miles away, or to go into a house for systematic treatment, choosing to remain in camp with such attendance as his fellow tribesmen could give. This went on for a long time,

until the lower limb became a mere dead appendage attached by a few half-dried ligaments. One day, on the residents of the neighbouring house visiting him, as they did regularly to give such assistance as was possible, they found that, becoming tired of his burden, he had twisted off the withered leg, and burnt it in the camp fire. The wound granulated and eventually healed. For many years afterwards he was able to travel fairly with a wooden leg, provided for him by Sir John Robertson, who knew him well, and in common with many others really esteemed him.

It was from Cressfield that a servant named Smart made the first visit to the burning Mount Wingen, about six miles away. His attention had been attracted and his curiosity aroused as to the origin of a smoke which differed from the ordinary bush-fire by its persistence in the same place for months. He therefore determined on the first day when set free from the important work of a new farm to make his way to the place, and found that the smoke was given off by a fire below the earth's surface. Scientific research has shown that it is not volcanic, but merely the persistent ignition of a coal seam, which had been on fire for a long series of years. Its burnt-out course can be traced for many miles, though but little advance has been made during the eighty years that it has been known to whites.

The inhabitants of the district are all loyal Australians, though their origin has been very diverse. The majority, as a matter of course, are of British origin, though all European nationalities have their representatives. Scandinavians and Germans have perhaps been the most persevering,

industrious, and thrifty. As an example of what may be achieved, I can quote the case of a German who came to the district in 1862, without any money, under engagement as a shepherd. He saved his wages, took up Crown lands, cultivated a portion, grazed stock on the rest, and died in 1909, a little under seventy years of age, having accumulated property valued at £20,000. This is no solitary instance, for others have achieved almost, if not quite, equal success.

Settlers of foreign origin frequently learn English quickly, adapt themselves to their surroundings and become absorbed into the general population, generally securing naturalisation ; but this is not always the case, and how isolated a man may become, even amongst a numerous population, is shewn by the life of an old man, a good worker, who used to do gardening and other odd jobs. He came from the German provinces of Poland, close to the Russian boundary, and when he arrived in the place only spoke his native language. He gradually picked up a few quasi-English words, which he mixed with others of Polish, German, and Russian origin, the result being a polyglot speech, which only one gentleman, Mr. Gilbert Johnson, could comprehend ; so that when signs would not convey his meaning the latter had to be brought as an interpreter. The man could grasp directions fairly well if spoken to in English, but was quite incapable of intelligible reply. He chattered volubly in his strange tongue, but even his own daughter, who came out to him from his native village on the death of her mother, could not understand him better than anyone else.

Scone, though a small place, is remarkable for the

number of its inhabitants who have achieved success in the political life of the States. For instance, Sir John Robertson and the Honourable C. G. Wade, Sir Arthur MacAlister and Sir Arthur Palmer have all been Prime Ministers; the two former of New South Wales and the two latter of Queensland. The Honourable Joseph Docker, John Black, and Sir Joseph Abbott have been Cabinet Ministers of this State. The last-named was also Speaker; while Vincent Chattaway, a former resident, was a member of one Ministry in Queensland.

There also formerly resided in the neighbourhood Colonel and Captain Dumaresq, who belonged to an old family in the Channel Islands. They had received early grants from the Crown and lived on their estates. They had both served under Wellington during the Peninsular war. A third brother, having seen similar service, settled in Tasmania, where he only recently died, a centenarian. He was a friend of my mother's and, during his annual visits to Melbourne, spent much of his leisure at her house.

Besides these, I might mention several men who made their start in this part of Australia and subsequently proved themselves worthy of note. There was Rear-Admiral Sir W. R. Creswell, R.N., K.C.M.G., who is now the Naval Commandant of the Commonwealth; Alfred Bell, a brother of Mr. Moberley Bell, of *The Times;* and Mr. Charles Armstrong, a remarkably skilful amateur boxer. Mrs. Armstrong has since become celebrated as Madame Melba. The circumstances of my introduction to her husband were somewhat peculiar, and demonstrated one of his many accomplishments.

He was a remarkable rider, and no horse could long hold out against him. When we met he had just mounted for the first time a thoroughbred black mare, who, after violent resistance, being unable to unseat him by bucking, lay down and sulked. During this proceeding Mr. Armstrong was standing over her with a foot on the ground on either side, flogging her to make her get up. This she presently did, in a most sudden and violent fashion. Her resistance, however, was useless, for no horse could unseat him. A few years afterwards he astonished the Wild West people in London by accepting their standing challenge to all comers to ride one of their "bronchos." Taking his Australian saddle and bridle, he went one afternoon with a couple of friends to the Show just as the audience were leaving, and quietly stated that he wished to try what he could do. There had been few responses to the standing challenge, and hitherto all who had accepted it had been thrown. So when this almost effeminate looking but very muscular gentleman quietly said he had come to try, it was considered a throw-in for the Americans, who all but one backed the horse. The exception evidently recognised a workman in the stranger, and put all his savings on him.

He refused a Mexican saddle, in which the rider is inserted almost like a candle in the stick, having in addition a literal handle to hang on to, for the one used in the Australian bush, which only differs from the ordinary hunting saddle by being deeper in the seat, higher in the pummel, and having rather larger knee pads. He calmly suggested that, to save time, they should bring out the worst specimen. Having put on the bridle and blindfolded the beast, he

proceeded to saddle it. His style evidently raised the suspicion that he was no novice, for every attempt was made to frighten him, the head man saying: "I must ask you for your address, that we can send you home when you are broken"; or: "I hope your friends will say at the inquest that we tried to dissuade you from trying." But all to no purpose, for, gathering the reins and with the same hand seizing an ear, he was at once in the saddle, from which he was never even in danger of being shifted until the horse, who apparently recognised his master, quietly accepted the situation and ceased to resist.

A good bush rider can ride anything until it gets rid of the saddle or lies down and rolls, as a really vicious mount frequently does. The "broncho buster" is a much over-rated creature, for apparently the prairie horses rarely do more than buck straight ahead, which in Australia is looked on with contempt and called "pig-jumping." A buck is only dangerous when, as is often the case with us, the horse makes the saddle the summit of a sharp pyramid, and springing violently in the air comes down with his head pointing where his tail was, screaming savagely the whole time. Such performers have been known to burst a strong crupper, and buck a tightly girthed saddle over their heads and forelegs without breaking anything else—the man still being seated in it.

I remember one horse, a notorious outlaw, thoroughbred and nearly perfect in build, which—his reputation being known—was sold at a pound sale for half a crown. He defied everybody. In the breaking he had learnt every trick, and always tried at first to rub off his rider against a wall or fence

When thwarted in this, not by pulling at the opposite rein, which had no effect, but by bringing his nose against the obstruction, he, after bucking his hardest, would lie down and roll, generally breaking the saddle tree.

The most marvellous and apparently reckless horsemanship is exhibited during mustering in mountain districts, and stockmen will often gallop down hills of loose stones that they would have hesitated to walk over—the more rapid pace being really safer, as the speed makes the foothold so transient that there is no time for a fall. The work and danger of mustering is now in a large measure a thing of the past, for neither cattle nor horses are allowed to run loose until fully grown, nor are herds of wild unbranded stock permitted to exist. They have all been secured or destroyed.

When I first went to Scone there were large numbers of both, of mature age, which had never been yarded. In those days many were only captured by trap yards, built across a generally used path, with which the wild mobs were allowed to become familiar, the gates across the track being left open perhaps for months before the attempt was made to drive them. Then, one entrance being shut, the wild animals expecting to pass through as usual found themselves encircled, on the closing of the second, by an unbreakable fence seven or eight feet high. Lively times ensued in drafting the useful from the useless. No Spanish bull-fight is as dangerous or exciting to the men engaged; for there were rarely any bystanders. After the younger animals had been run into a side yard, the older were shot and their hides removed as a saleable asset.

Such a trap would be used until the neighbourhood had been cleared, and then it would possibly be taken down to be re-erected in another suitable place. When the wild horses and cattle were not absolutely beyond control, attempts would be made to drive them into a tame herd, technically known as " coachers," and with such guidance, which they are loath to leave, they could be driven to a stock-yard. Should a single one break away it was not uncommon for a stockman to ride alongside it until, by catching the tail and galloping ahead, he could throw it and, jumping off, secure two of the beast's legs by straps carried for the purpose. The coachers were then brought up, and the straps taken off in their midst, where the released animals would remain. Many of the wild herds of horses were celebrated as consisting of nearly, if not quite, thoroughbred stock, the wild sires being either escaped blood colts, or their earlier offspring. Those known as " Buglers," which frequented the wild country at the heads of the various branches of the Hunter River above Waverley and Beltrees, were especially valued if captured when young. When older they were often broken down by the long, hard gallops they had been compelled to take, or were possessed of tempers too ungovernable to be subdued. Again, on the " Big River," in the scrub between it and the Queensland boundary at Goondiwindi, a large proportion were sired by thoroughbred colts, the progeny or immediate descendants of Lord of the Hills, a celebrated horse by Touchstone, foaled in 1854, and imported to New South Wales in 1860, whose pedigree is traceable to Eclipse, and before him to the royal mares of Charles II.

The large majority were shot by men who made their destruction a profitable calling. One who carried it on in the mountains of the southern part of the State is credited with having earned £1,500 in one year from the hides of the numbers which he killed. More than one good shot in the Scone district had been almost as successful.

A part of the district where I lived was more than 3,000 feet above sea level, and the climate varied accordingly. I remember on one occasion having to descend from Scone, whose elevation is 682 feet, to the tableland distant a little over sixty miles, to treat a fractured thigh ; the temperature there during the whole time of my two days' absence from home never sank below 100°, but on returning I found that whilst the low country was sweltering in the heat, I required a couple of pairs of blankets that night.

My destination was Toomulla, which had a truly English climate and generally such a rainfall as made a portion of it permanently swampy. Quite close to the house I flushed twenty or thirty snipe during a short walk. These birds are considerably larger than those in England, being nearly as big as a woodcock, which they more closely resemble. I remember carrying home on this journey a young crimson Lowry parrot for our aviary. This beautiful bird only frequents the higher country, and is rarely found lower than 1,200 feet. In its first year its plumage is olive green relieved by some patches of red ; but after this age it changes to a brilliant crimson, with varying shades of blue on the wings.

The number and variety of our pets was notable. I call to mind Wonga and bronze-wing pigeons, several varieties of quail, plovers, landrails, a dozen varieties

of parrots and parrakeets, with numerous bright-coloured finches and other small birds, who lived contentedly in a very large cage with several canaries. Animals and reptiles also formed part of the collection. The platypus, though more than once acquired, was not a success, but the echidna, or porcupine, did better. I remember a young one of this interesting paradox, which lays eggs, yet suckles its young, as does also the platypus, being given to me before it had anything on it but bare skin. All was done that was possible to feed it with milk or yolk of egg made palatable—as was thought—by crushed ants, but all in vain. It could not be induced to take any nourishment, and it was impossible to return it to its parental nest, from which it had been taken by a boy. Under these conditions its tenacity of life was remarkable, for it lived, gradually wasting, for more than six weeks. When secured, its weight was nearly a pound.

The echidna has no mouth, but merely a beak with a small orifice at the extremity, through which it protrudes a long slimy tongue, to which the smaller kinds of ants adhere, and are carried in for consumption on its withdrawal. This animal is not uncommon, but if alarmed it hides quickly, burying itself in the ground by the use of its strong claws.

Other pets were opossums, small flying squirrels, koalas or native bears, kangaroo rats, etc. The latter are, I think, more easily tamed than any other animal, but a few days are required to make them so docile and content with their quarters that they can be left at liberty to go away at night—for they are nocturnal animals—to return to the house in the morning. They hop like the large kangaroo, and

are very speedy. Hares are now so numerous that a thousand is not an out-of-the-way number to be killed in a two days' drive; but before their introduction the kangaroo rats were coursed and would often outrun the greyhounds. The confined reptiles were non-venomous snakes and various large lizards.

The discovery of bones of extinct animals in post-tertiary strata was not uncommon, and I was able to send several good specimens to the Australian Museum in Sydney. On the east side of the Dividing Range I never found a complete skeleton, only solitary bones, the remains having apparently been broken up and scattered by strong water currents. On the western watershed it is different, and the complete framework is not infrequently found *in situ*. In some places there must have been a sudden destructive catastrophe of vast proportions, for in the "Trinkey Scrub" district well-sinkers report that at some depth they have passed through a layer of bones two or three feet in thickness, whilst similar remains are often exposed in the banks of gullies created in the alluvial soil by heavy rains. In these districts the species are generally the Diprotodon, the Nototherium and the Zygomaturus, all gigantic, about equal in bulk to the existing elephant.

Gerard Krefft, a most accomplished palæontologist, was then the curator of the Australian Museum in Sydney. He more than once visited us to superintend the exhumation of these fossils, which required the most skilful handling in order to avoid their destruction.

Most interesting bone deposits have been found in the breccia of the caves near Wellington, N.S.W., where fragments have been discovered sufficiently

perfect to admit of identification, of the Thylacinus, the Dasyurus, the Diprotodon, and other gigantic marsupials; and, more notable than any, that of the Thylacoleo, described by Owen as a pouched lion. Its dentition is remarkable. In place of the ordinary carnivorous teeth it has four of a sickle-edged type, which, in opposition, must have constituted powerful shears. Krefft disputed Owen's hypothesis that this animal was flesh-eating, believing that it more closely resembled the existing rufous rat kangaroo (Æpyprymnus rufescens) of N. S. Wales, whose dentition is somewhat similar, which is unquestionably a vegetarian feeder. The former believed the Thylacoleo to have been a twig and leaf eater, for which diet its teeth are admirably suited.

The most remarkable discovery from this source was the crown of a human molar tooth, found by Krefft on breaking up a piece of the cave deposit. I saw it within a very short time of its exposure, and its appearance was absolutely indicative of the coexistence of its original possessor with the extinct animals with whose remains it was in immediate contact. It had the same staining from the red earth surrounding it.

Crocodiles are not now found south of the Fitzroy River on the east coast, but in ancient times they were common in central New South Wales. Fossil teeth of these saurians were first found at Gilgoin, about thirty miles south of Brewarrina on the Darling River, and I think I was the first to identify them. They have been found in many other places since, when excavations are made for the conservation of water in the plains.

In my opinion the belief in the former existence

VIEW FROM BUSHRANGERS HILL, NEAR NEWPORT, N.S.W., LOOKING SOUTH

of the bunyip is based on the traditions handed down from the aborigines who were coeval with these reptiles. The accounts given of its habits, such as haunting the rivers and lagoons and carrying off the gins when going for water, are exactly consonant with the proceedings of a modern crocodile, but not at all with those of a seal, which many psuedo-authorities assert that this mysterious creature was, and perhaps still is. No specimen of the bunyip has ever been secured, and one that was shot late at night on the Murray was found by subsequent examination to be a venerable " Billy-goat," who, having come to the river for water, was snorting and blowing in the enjoyment of a bath.

There is another apparently mythical animal, whose presence in scrubby mountain districts is reported from time to time. These reports, however, do not originate with the blacks, but with the white settlers. The beast is described as resembling a gorilla, and, when surprised, makes away into the nearest bush. Strange sounds are heard from time to time, and those whose duty as surveyors takes them into wilder country describe them as most weird. It is, however, probable that they originate from some bird whose voice vastly exceeds its size, as does that of the bittern. The only instance in which tangible signs have been left was related to me by an uncle of the late Mr. Charles Conder, the artist who recently died in Paris. He said that when managing a sheep station in the Barwon district he visited a boundary rider's hut, situated on the edge of a vast scrub, and found the man's wife in a state of considerable alarm. She told him that a short time before she saw a great

hairy beast in erect posture at the open-headed cask containing the water supply. On seeing her it appeared alarmed, quickly climbed a sapling and disappeared by making its way from top to top of the adjoining trees. He examined the ground near the cask, and told me that he found tracks, the like of which he had never seen before, although an experienced bushman.

Favenc, the well-known author and explorer, gives an account of a somewhat similar tradition as existing amongst the natives of North West Australia, far remote from the settlements. This would go to prove that there may be some reasonable basis for both beliefs; for the aborigines of whom he speaks would not have had the aid to imagination which the whites have acquired from reading accounts of the gorilla of West Africa.

CHAPTER IV

PRACTICE IN THE BUSH

Mr. Allan Macdonald—Anecdote of the Chinaman, "Charlie Trog"—Trout in Australia—My Farm—Two Scions of Old English Families—James Tyson, Millionaire—An Unexpected Kiss—Legal Administration in Old Days—A Sick Family—Emergencies in Bush Practice—Some Antitoxins—A Prison Doctor and Malingerers—Poultry Rearing—Foxes—Cookery in the Bush—The Story of a Derelict—Murder or Suicide—I give up Country Practice—A Punctilious Police Officer—Mrs. O'B——'s Fine.

AMONG the many friends I made while living in Scone was Mr. Allan Macdonald, one of the Glencoe sept, who cherished, theoretically, the race hatred to the Campbells which was the fruit of the "massacre" in 1693. He was always a big man, but in advanced life he reached over thirty stone in weight; yet notwithstanding his bulk, he was wonderfully active, mentally and physically. His power of acquiring languages was marvellous, for three months' acquaintance with a foreigner would enable him to speak his language fluently. I have heard him chaff a Chinaman, a Frenchman, a Spaniard and a German, each in his own tongue. He could recite long passages from almost every British poet; but Burns and Scott were his favourites. He spoke Gaelic as his native dialect, but his English was equally good.

When, in spite of the hated name, he foregathered with his chum, Mr. James Campbell, I had only to

shut my eyes and listen to their chatter to imagine myself in a black fellow's camp, for the phrases and intonation were exactly those of aboriginals talking among themselves. I remember being intensely amused at the repetition of a real conversation they had overheard from an old darkie native who, having a smattering, greatly prided himself on his Biblical knowledge, his favourite discourse being about "Captain Noah," his style of ship, and his preparations for the voyage and its conduct.

Allan had a great sense of humour, and everybody in turn was the victim of his wit. I was no exception to the rule. A well-known and prosperous Chinese storekeeper, whose Anglicised cognomen was "Charlie Trog," was selected as principal figure of a story which was, of course, absolutely apocryphal. Charlie was supposed to have been called as a witness in a case at the police court, and, as is customary in Australia with those of his race, was asked how he would be sworn, to which he replied: "Blake um plate, welly good. Blow em out match, welly good. Smell em book, welly good." Then being further questioned: "Oh! me Chlistian!" Afterwards: "Do you know the Lord's Prayer?" "Our Father! lillie bit know Him." "Do you know the Ten Commandments?" "No steal him, no take him other fellow wifey, lillie bit know him, not vellie much." "Do you know the Creed?" "You better believe it, him jolly logue; charge me fifteen poun', never do me bit of good."

The various streams feeding the Hunter River, having their sources in the lofty Dividing Range, have often exceedingly cool water, and are therefore suitable for trout. Possibly the American rainbow

variety is the best suited, as they do not require water of such a low temperature as the brown trout of England. Still, the latter have flourished fairly well, and although prolonged drought and great heat have destroyed them in the main river, they are still found in the branch streams. The first ova were deposited in primitive hatching boxes in the river at Beltrees, the Messrs. White's homestead. The attempt was thought to have been a failure as a fresh in the river upset the boxes and scattered their contents. This accident and the paucity of ova made it very unlikely that any would survive. In 1880, however, two fine fish were caught in the Omadale Brook, (which, by the stream, is nearly one hundred miles higher up the river) by Frank Slavin, the boxer of world-wide fame, who was then a boy, living with his mother and brother on its banks. They had charge of large flocks of sheep depastured in paddocks there. There is no doubt about this capture, for I made most careful enquiry of competent witnesses, and took precautions which assured me of their truthfulness. Since then, additional fry have been put in the river, and I have recently heard of more trout being caught. Though the ova was only introduced to New South Wales in the early 'seventies, trout are now plentiful in all suitable streams, and fly-fishing is a recognised sport. The fish grow very quickly from the abundant food supply and attain a large size.

In the eastern watershed there are also indigenous fish, which rise to the fly and give good sport. The perch is the most generally fished for. They are usually from one to three pounds, though they sometimes reach five or six. I remember on one occasion

landing fourteen in less than an hour, having used crickets, grasshoppers, and artificial flies. The fish ranged from one to three pounds each. The river herring, or smelt, takes a small fly eagerly, and with four hooks to the cast not infrequently three are captured at once. They only weigh a few ounces each, but are of very delicate flavour and have the cucumber odour of the European smelt.

These fish are survivors from the Cretaceous period, and are found not only in Australia and Tasmania, but in South America. This fact is a corroboration of the theory so ably worked out by Mr. Charles Hedley, F.L.S., of the Australian Museum, that prior to, or during that period, there was land connection of the two continents by the Antarctic region. Australia has additional instances of the persistence of types extinct in other places. The Ceragodus and the Port Jackson shark are examples, as in fact are all marsupials.

I had a hereditary interest in farming and stock-raising, so, when an opportunity occurred, I secured a farm of 1,500 acres, part of which I cultivated for hay, which is not made as at home from grass pasture, but either from wheat or oats sown for the purpose, or from land laid down in lucerne, called in America alfalfa. For horses, especially those doing fast work, the former is better; for draught animals, or cows, the latter, which is the more nutritious, is most suitable, but has the disadvantage of producing attacks of distressed breathing, akin to asthma, when any pace is required.

On the remainder of my holding I grazed cattle and horses, but during my occupation I was handicapped

by a period of deficient rainfall. At one time the drought became so severe as to leave the stock almost without food, the grass having to be eked out by lopping the trees, the leaves of which were capable of supporting life, and, though not relished, were consumed in the absence of better forage.

When rain fell, the grass, as it always does in Australia, grew so quickly that in a few weeks the starving cattle soon began to get fat, and I sent a mob of ninety-five to the Sydney market—a distance of 200 miles by road. They were mature, well-bred Durhams, and were said by competent judges to be the most weighty lot which had ever been sold there. One bullock, which was less than an average beast, injured a foot on the second day of the journey, and in consequence was sold to a local butcher. When killed it weighed 1,185 pounds. Some of them were more than 1,700 pounds each when dressed. Had they reached the sale yard during the drought they would have realised an average price of upwards of £20. As it turned out, so many others were then yarded that I only got £6 18*s*. 6*d*. per head, this being thirty shillings more than any of the other drafts realised during the same week.

The vicissitudes in the history of old families were strikingly illustrated on my farm, for at one time I had two men working for me, one of whom was cook at the cottage, the other employed in general work. They were not related, but were connected by marriage, and strange to say it was by the union of Henry VIII. with Katherine Howard. The one was descended in an unbroken male line from a brother of the queen, and the other from a very old

Welsh family, of which Owen Tudor, the progenitor of Henry VII., was a cadet.

I did not get my knowledge from the men themselves, but from independent sources, which I know to be trustworthy. The Howard, I think, had not much knowledge of, or interest in, his descent, but my informant knew him as a boy in his native place, where his people were farmers. In the parish church, however, was—and still is—an unbroken series of the tombs of his ancestors from at least the time of the Tudors. He died long ago, leaving sons, and though he was remote from the title, the dukedom of Norfolk will not become extinct until all his descendants have died out. The other man had been at Eton, but emigrating to Australia had become stranded. I subsequently recommended him for employment in the New South Wales Police. I happened to mention him one day to another acquaintance, a brother of a well-known peer, also partially stranded, and he recognised in him an old schoolfellow at Eton, so we went to look him up. He chanced to be on night duty, and we found him in bed in a room, in which he " boxed and coxed " with another constable.

When at Scone I visited Sydney from time to time, and used frequently to meet James Tyson, the millionaire, as he generally resided at the same hotel on coming to town. From small beginnings he had become a very rich man; so much so that in conversing with me about a trans-Australian railway, to connect the systems of the Eastern and Southern States with a port in North Australia, west of the Gulf of Carpentaria, he casually mentioned that he had offered the Ministers in authority a loan of " a

million " at four per cent. At that time the terms were very moderate. At the same time he made it a condition that the sum should be earmarked for this purpose, and that the southern end of the railway should connect with both the Queensland and New South Wales Western lines.*

As a boy, Mr. Tyson lived in the neighbourhood of Campbelltown, New South Wales, where he assisted his mother and stepfather in the work of a small farm. He failed in several early attempts to establish himself as a pastoralist, but, after considerable experience as a drover, laid the foundation of his fortune by establishing a large butchery at Bendigo, soon after the gold rush took place there in 1852.

During the earlier years of his career he was reputed to be a miser, but there was no just foundation for this report, except that until he had firmly established his financial position he never spent an unnecessary penny. In later life, when the whole of his immense pastoral properties were absolutely free from debt, and he had a surplus of spare cash, he was often extremely—though generally secretly—generous to objects and persons he thought deserving.

Though his education was originally very limited, it was adequate for his purpose. He read a good deal, being much interested in popular science. I was often quietly amused with his very novel pronunciation of scientific words when retailing scraps of Professor Proctor's lectures, which were favourite reading with him. His personal require-

* A scheme has recently been advocated by Mr. Alexander Wilson of Sydney, on this principle, but very much more complete, as it arranges for the connection of the whole of the Eastern States with Port Darwin.

ments were few, and to the last he always wore a good time-keeping silver watch with a doubled leather shoestring as a chain. When riding between his numerous properties, far distant from railways, he preferred camping out at night, carrying his provisions and blankets on a pack horse which he led.

Once when in the metropolis to rejoin my wife and child, who were staying there, I had an amusing adventure. Having dressed early in the morning after my arrival by steamer, I was walking down a long passage in the hotel when I noticed an attractive girl of about nineteen staring hard at me. She then ran up impulsively, and, putting her arms round my neck, commenced to kiss me with great affection. I made no protest, but quietly awaited events. "You don't remember me!" she exclaimed. "I certainly don't know you," I replied, "but don't leave off on that account." She stopped then to laugh, and by and by I made out from her explanation that I had last seen her as a pretty child of six, whom I used to pet and make much of.

I relieved the monotony of life in the country by visiting the capital as often as the exigencies of professional work permitted, but I realised that greater variety of intellectual thought was desirable. The construction of railways had gone on steadily, so that places could now be reached in a few hours which it had taken days to get to when I first settled in Australia. But many journeys had still to be accomplished by vehicles or on horseback. However interesting my work was, bringing me into contact with all phases of humanity, still a change to city practice was becoming desirable and prudent. There are many men whose life work necessitates

their residence in the country parts of Australia, who can, nevertheless, hold their own in discussions on almost any subject; but, again, there are many others whose ideas do not rise beyond their daily occupation, which becomes the sole subject of thought and conversation. Visitors are therefore very welcome, and every effort is made to show them objects of interest. They are taken by their immediate host to the houses of neighbouring friends, and "neighbouring" in those parts means any homestead within fifty miles, accessible by a decent road for vehicles. A call, therefore, often necessitates a stay of at least one night. Many noteworthy visitors occur to my memory, amongst others the judges on circuit and the solicitors and barristers attending them.

Legal proceedings in Australia are gradually being brought more into line with modern sense. For instance, it could not now happen that a verdict would be set aside because the judge had permitted a little food and water to be supplied to one member of a jury who had retired to consider the verdict. This, however, actually occurred in the earlier years of my residence in the colony. A man had been convicted of horse-stealing and sentenced to three years' imprisonment, but on his appeal to the Supreme Court he was ordered to be released on the above-mentioned grounds. This led to an awkward incident, for it so happened that confined in the same gaol was the man's brother, who was serving a long sentence for a similar crime, and also for arson, committed in an attempt to avoid conviction by the destruction of the stable in which the stolen animal was kept by the police. On the order

for release arriving, the governor of the prison carelessly let loose the wrong man, and it was only after some days that the mistake was discovered. Eventually it was decided that a prisoner released, even by mistake, ought not to be re-arrested for the same offence. So both brothers escaped the fitting penalty of their misdeeds.

These culprits were not born in Australia, but had been brought out by their father from Ireland in their boyhood. The parents were not of the lowest social class, and the sons, like themselves, were well educated. They appeared, however, to be inherently criminal, and had the reputation of having been guilty of frequent offences against property. Some of their crimes indicated a degree of enterprise worthy of a better cause. The most notable offence of which they were suspected was the theft of wool from living sheep. A certain outlying paddock, in which more than 5,000 sheep were depastured, was often not visited by the owner for weeks at a time. On one occasion, immediately after his visit, the flock were roughly mustered by the thieves, driven to yards constructed in the scrub, shorn and returned day by day as clipped. Before the owner discovered his loss the wool had been sent away and sold. The whole incident became a matter of common talk, but, though every effort was made, no evidence could be obtained to render successful prosecution possible.

In my dual capacities of magistrate or medical witness many enquiries into the cause of sudden or violent deaths came within my province. I remember one such, held in a neighbouring district by an eminently respectable, but not too intelligent

J.P. There was not much evidence, but what there was went to show that a man who had been drinking hard for a week or two wandered away on a wet, cold night and was found dead in the bush the next day. After hearing the witnesses, His Worship solemnly delivered his verdict, which was as follows: "I find that the deceased died by the visitation of God, accelerated by drink and exposure." This sapient decision is a record in the Crown Law Offices which my curiosity once induced me to enquire for and peruse.

I remember remarking to a visitor, a retired military officer, Chief Sheriff of a neighbouring state, that I should not care for his post, as it involved the conduct of executions. He replied that he had only been upset by one of the many executions at which he had been present, and that was when he had to supervise the hanging of a woman, with whom, as a girl, he had often danced. This poor creature had held her drunken and brutal husband's head whilst two men shot him at her instance. The murdered man fully deserved his fate, but the authorities felt that they could not justly reprieve the principal, while executing the male accomplices.

Once when visiting a mining village in a gorge in the mountains, generally a most salubrious place, but just then invaded by an epidemic of septic pneumonia, my attention was directed to a lonely hut, in which an unlucky digger and his family resided. I found them all seriously ill, and without attendance. I got some meat, started some beef-tea, left the necessary medicine, and, before going my way, appealed to the nearest neighbours, almost all of whom had sick of their own, to visit and help

them. Although in great danger, with necessary treatment all made complete recoveries, and the incident passed entirely out of my memory. Some twenty years later a tall, gaunt young woman came up to me one day in Sydney, and asked me to use what influence I might have on her behalf. When I asked her why she came to me she replied: "Of course I come to you; don't you remember, when I was a little girl, you saved our lives?" It turned out that she was one of this family whom I had treated twenty years before.

In bush medical practice cases occur when, if relief is to be afforded, the response to the call must be made with the utmost promptitude. As I always had good horses, kept in the best condition, I never remember any complaint being made as to my speed. Occasionally, however, the patient was cured before the arrival of the doctor. One such instance occurred in the case of a young man living at a station twenty-two miles from my house. A messenger on a foaming horse informed me that after a big Sunday dinner, having had a tiff with his wife, he had taken a teaspoonful of strychnia, kept for station use for the destruction of wild dogs, from a bottle containing about a pound of the poison, which he had swallowed by the aid of a drink of water. I hastened out expecting to find the patient dead on my arrival. Instead, I found him strolling about as if nothing had happened. By good fortune, a short time before, the manager, an intimate friend, had asked me what should be done when strychnia, which is in constant use for the destruction of marauding animals, had been accidentally taken. I told him to give as much salad oil as he could get down, for I

think in the absence of a stomach-pump or syphon or a hypodermic syringe for the administration of apomorphia this is the most practicable remedy. It suspends the strychnia, coats the mucous membrane of the stomach, lessening its power of absorption, and generally acts as an emetic until a more potent one is procurable. This treatment had been promptly followed, and the toxic effect having been rendered less rapid by a full meal, the stomach was emptied and the poison removed before a single symptom appeared. No one was more content with the result than the intending suicide. The usual absurd proceedings followed at the police court, at which, when arraigned, he was discharged with the recommendation not to do it again, for if *successful* in the future, he would not be treated so leniently.

As an emetic, apomorphia is by far the most useful, for it is very prompt and effective in its action, and can be easily administered, notwithstanding the most determined resistance of the patient. At a great penal establishment in New South Wales a newly appointed Medical Officer had started duty, and, as usual, the more cunning prisoners began to malinger by voluntarily producing such morbid symptoms as would ensure them good times in the hospital. Two were brought before him whom he suspected of having filled their stomachs with rubbish to produce heart disturbance and other constitutional symptoms. Acting on this diagnosis, he told them to face the wall, and through their moleskin trousers gave them a tenth of a grain each of apomorphia by a hypodermic syringe. They were much puzzled when ordered to turn round and face buckets ; but in a few minutes they understood

the reason, and the result confirmed the doctor's suspicions. After a time they had nothing to disclose and were feeling quite well. On being returned to their work, the warder in charge heard one say to the other during the march: "Lor, Bill! it ain't a bit of use trying to play up with this new doctor; he sticks a pin in yer behind, and makes yer chuck up your immortal soul."

Except on urgent calls, which necessitated an immediate departure at any time of the day or night, whether wet or fine, I always preferred to start at daybreak for any considerable journey. I tried to arrange that the first twenty miles or thereabouts should bring me to some friend's house, where the hostess was a good housewife, and where I knew I should find a hearty welcome and a well-cooked breakfast on the table. The first meal on a station is always substantial and taken early. The meat consumed is very superior when the animals are killed close to their pasturage and not injured by driving, train journeys, terror and starvation, as is necessarily the case when it is bought in a city shop.

In the Australian countryside good food is always available, and no one ever goes hungry. It depends, however, on the women of the household how it is utilised. At one house every meal will be well cooked and well served; at the next, though there are the same facilities, the food will be something to be shunned. Poultry of all kinds was exceedingly plentiful, and from the extensive rambling grounds, and consequent supply of insects and seeds, it cost little to rear. Turkeys were so numerous that the smaller settlers were content to deliver them at the

purchaser's house for five shillings a couple, the birds having had but little grain given to them since they were poults. In most places there were in rich soil patches of variegated prickly sow-thistle, the seed from which is very plentiful and nutritious, and much liked by all kinds of poultry. This alone is adequate for the rearing of large numbers of birds. The bronze variety of turkey is so hardy and self-reliant that it requires none of the constant care which is needed by the older breeds. One friend tells me that having liberated a couple of gobblers with the requisite hens, he found at the end of the year that he possessed ninety-six well-grown young birds, some of which weighed more than twenty pounds, at the cost of a few handfuls of grain, given occasionally to make the flock realise that it had a home. Such good fortune has now become more rare on account of the marvellous spread of English foxes, which are exceedingly numerous, for they have scattered many hundreds of miles from their antipodean place of origin, Barwon Park in the Geelong district of Victoria, where they were liberated in the 'sixties by an enthusiastic sportsman with a view to hunting.

When recently visiting Canberra, the site of the Commonwealth capital, I was told that in the previous few weeks eighty-five had been destroyed by guns and poison, eighteen having been shot during one drive. Poultry, unless shut up every night, soon learn to roost high, and thus may escape. Many lambs are killed, often little but the tongue being eaten. The fox skins are generally preserved, and they make, if obtained in winter, very fine rugs. One, however, which was sent home by

a clergyman to his sisters in Leicestershire, was the cause of some embarrassment to them, as they dare not display it in that hunting county, yet did not like to send away such a handsome present from Australia.

Cooks in the bush have to practise their art under considerable difficulty as compared with their town-dwelling sisters. There are no gas stoves and but few ranges, those there are burning wood as a matter of course. The general provision for cooking consists of a large open fireplace, with perhaps a simple, single-chambered iron oven set in one corner. A fire of big logs is constantly kept going to keep a hot water fountain boiling, over which all culinary work is done. When these conveniences are absent, what is known as a camp-oven is used. This is a cast-iron, flat-bottomed vessel, from eighteen to twenty-four inches in diameter and nine deep, with perpendicular walls, two loops for a movable handle on opposite sides, and three legs about six inches high. It has a lid to fit it somewhat loosely, with a loop on the top for lifting with a hook. It is used for baking bread and cakes, for roasting joints, for frying, for boiling, or any of the ordinary purposes of a pot. For baking, it is placed over glowing wood embers and covered with others piled round and over it; when it cooks admirably. It is equally useful in a big fireplace or at a camp-fire in the open air, and is nearly always carried by teamsters on long bush journeys. I am a very fair cook, as I submit all doctors should be, and could always, when necessary, impart instruction as to the preparation of food for the sick, either for consumption during acute illness or in convalescence. On emergency I have

frequently given practical demonstration how it should be done.

In bachelors' houses the house servant is not infrequently a man of fair education, who has become derelict through alcohol, and is therefore compelled to seek employment far from the public houses. Many of these men become very expert in the preparation of food. I remember my brother employing one at his station. His original calling was that of a draper, but he had to shun liquor like the plague. He was a very green recruit when first engaged, but, with the practical training of his master, became a culinary artist of considerable fame. Nothing was more entertaining than to witness their united efforts in the preparation of a dinner, an invitation to which was never declined. The master usually superintended the proceedings while sitting in a chair on the top of the kitchen table, giving precise directions as to the preparation of the food, the heat of the oven, the time required, the necessity of basting, and so on, as occasion arose, whilst the servant carried them out. The result was often a dinner the excellence of which became the talk of the district.

Another such servant was a man of an old English family, whose father had been high in the Imperial Diplomatic Service. Drink had driven him to bush work, and he had been in the employment of a near relative of mine for upwards of thirty years before his death. He could cook, make butter, bake bread, or wash clothes admirably, and was in every way estimable, until with unjustifiable self-confidence he would draw his accumulated wages and go to a town for a holiday. It was certain during his

earlier years that he would be unable to resist temptation. He rarely got beyond the first inn before getting intoxicated, and then all was over. Eventually he would return a veritable wreck, eager only for restoration and reinstatement.

Personally, he was a great favourite with the members of his employer's family, but these repeated relapses made his employment impossible. Therefore, after one outburst and return, after having been nursed back to health, he was told he must go. On realising that he had rendered this decision irrevocable, he quietly went away and hanged himself in his room. By good chance he was discovered in time, cut down, and resuscitated. After much impressive pleading, and on his making a solemn promise never to come back to the homestead if he again left it, he was permitted to take up his old position, and stayed on until the end of his life. Some years before his death a communication reached him from the family solicitors to the effect that, several relatives having died, he had succeeded to a large estate, an adequate income, and a fine mansion with much plate, pictures, and other heirlooms. Some days after its receipt he took the letter, in which was enclosed a bank draft for £500, to his employer, and said that he had carefully considered the subject and arrived at the conclusion that he would never reach England, but would drink himself to death on the way, and that, even if he escaped this fate, he would only bring discredit on those whom he loved and who loved him. He therefore determined to convey all the property to his sisters absolutely and to remain where he was. His decision was considered so extraordinary that

much difficulty was experienced in giving effect to it, but it was finally accomplished. He then resumed his ordinary life, fulfilling every duty as before, the only difference being that with the money sent out, which he banked, he subscribed to various illustrated papers and popular magazines. When I first knew him he was a shepherd on the station where I was "jackerooing," and here he stayed until his death, becoming a domestic servant after the place was fenced and the sheep depastured in paddocks.

In Scone many cases of great professional interest came within scope of my observation. Many of them are of too technical a character to be of general interest, but I remember one instance in which the exercise of considerable acumen, the result of training in medical jurisprudence, was needed, yet not forthcoming.

About forty miles from my residence the body of a man named Macpherson, more generally known as "Scotch Jock," was found with his throat cut, and numerous other wounds near the region of the heart. The body was fully dressed, and there were no blood-stains on the clothing. When discovered, it was lying under an overhanging bank in a gully which had been traversed by at least two freshets since the man had been missing. The weather was very bad, and no doubt his clothes were wet through before his death, as he had been wandering about in the rain. He had been drinking, and was suffering from delirium tremens. The popular belief was that the man had been murdered, and his body re-dressed and carried to the place where it was found. The number of the wounds was considered a strong

corroboration of this view. I was asked to attend the inquest and to give evidence after making a post-mortem examination. Other engagements rendered this impossible. Failing me, recourse was had to the services of a man who was practising without a diploma, and whose only training in practical anatomy or forensic medicine had been obtained by assisting at a few post-mortem examinations in a hospital where he had been dispenser.

The decision of the magisterial enquiry was that the man was murdered. I, however, formed the opinion that it was a case of suicide in the madness of drink. The cause of death was the wound in the throat which divided the carotid artery, and this ensured a fatal result in two or three minutes. The wounds over the left thorax were eight in number, and, with two exceptions only, penetrated to the ribs, which in the other six cases had prevented the point of the knife going further. The two which went deeper had entered below the ribs, and reached the abdominal cavity. Though having little immediate effect, these two punctures would probably have had fatal effects in a few days because of septic peritonitis, while the remainder would have done little damage, and would have healed very quickly. All these wounds must have been made either before or after the cut in the throat. If before, it might have been some hours prior to the fatal injury; if after, they must have been inflicted subsequent to death. If the chest incisions had been the work of another person, the blows struck would have had such force that in some of them the point of the knife must have slipped off the ribs and gone deeper, and not, as was the case, have been stopped

six times by these bones. Even if the deceased had contemplated self-destruction, it is certain that repeated stabbing would have roused the instinct of self-preservation, and that his throat could not have been cut without a struggle, of which there would have been signs on the limbs and trunk. There was, however, nothing of the kind.

My theory is that the man in the horrors of drink determined on suicide, and attempted it by stabbing where he supposed his heart would be, after raising his shirt. Having made eight futile efforts by steady pressure, and failing each time, he determined to cut his throat, and in this way he at once attained his purpose. The absence of bloodstains can, I think, be accounted for by the theory that the blood fell on woollen clothes already wet, and that the cold water running over them, as it did at least twice, washed the marks completely away. A man and two women, mother and daughter, were arrested and committed for trial. It was supposed that jealousy on the part of the man was a factor in the case. He had made to various people a number of silly threats as to what he would do to "Scotch Jock" if he interfered with the girl, to none of which had he been known to give effect. The male prisoner, in common with the whole population of the district, believed it was a case of murder, and thought that it looked so black against him that he had but little chance of acquittal. After arrest, therefore, he made a false confession to the effect that while concealed he had seen the two women kill the man with a hatchet, entering very fully into details and excusing his not having given information on the grounds

that he feared their vengeance. At the trial the jury disbelieved his tale, and convicted him, acquitting the two women. He was sentenced to death. Though the lying cur unquestionably deserved hanging, I thought it contrary to public policy to execute one man for the suicide of another, and therefore made such representations as resulted in his reprieve. I had had the depositions submitted to me and formed my opinions on the evidence set forth in them. I subsequently discussed the case with the judge before whom the trial took place, and, after listening to my arguments, he fully agreed with my conclusions and thought the verdict erroneous.

After fourteen years of strenuous work in country practice, I began to consider the advisability of a change; for though my daily life and social surroundings were very congenial, I realised that later on I should not be able to endure the physical labour of carrying on such a widespread practice. I had gained absolute confidence in my professional skill, and therefore had much less mental strain than would otherwise have been the case. I rarely had to do more than state my opinion as to what should be done, and my directions were followed without hesitation. My position in the public estimation may be demonstrated by quoting a remark made by a resident when, some time after my departure, discussion arose on the subject. He was a man of unusual ability, and most successful in the management of a large pastoral property, but, sad to say, he was not so strictly temperate as could have been desired for his personal well-being. On this occasion he said: "As long as Creed was here the cemetery

was disgracefully empty, but it is filling up fairly well now."

I had, in addition to my practice, to take my share of work in local public affairs. The most constant, and often the most important, were my duties as a Justice of the Peace. In the frequent absence of the police magistrate while attending the neighbouring courts, I generally acted as Chairman of the Bench. On one occasion when the magistrate was away on leave I carried on his work for six months. This gave me strange experiences, both grave and gay, and some of the latter were most amusing.

I remember on one occasion a flood occurred of such a character that the lock-up, which at that time was a strong wooden building (the walls being heavy slabs split from large trees with narrow vertical interstices between them) was surrounded by water, a strong current passing through the cells. The sergeant in charge was so strictly official that he would take no action on his own responsibility. He therefore telegraphed to his superior officer : " Flood three feet deep surrounding and running through lock-up. Have four prisoners on tables in the cells. Water rising. Shall I take them out or let them drown ? " He at once received the necessary authority and acted on it promptly.

Another case in which I adjudicated caused much local amusement. A well-known old resident was summoned for having wilfully damaged a public gate, under some mistaken idea as to her legal rights. There was no dispute as to the facts, and on convicting her I fined her half a sovereign to include costs. I was much taken aback when she remarked : " Well, Doctor, you will have to pay it, for I have no money."

As I did not like to send the old woman to gaol, I had to dip into my own pocket. "Really, Mrs. O'B——," I observed, "if I had known I should have to pay I would have fined you half a crown."

CHAPTER V

WORK IN SYDNEY

I Leave Scone for Practice in Sydney—Progress in Antiseptic Surgery—Editorship of the *Australasian Medical Gazette*—Elected President of the British Medical Association (N.S.W.)—Treatment of Snake Bites—The Rabbit Problem—Summoned to the Legislative Council—The Ownership of the New Hebrides—The Vaccination Question—Cremation—An Amusing Debate—Unqualified Practitioners in Australia—Letter on the Subject to Sir Henry Parkes, Prime Minister—Withdrawal of Her Majesty's Troops from Australia by Mr. Gladstone's Government—Crusade for the Reform of the Defence Forces of Australia—My Attitude towards Sir Henry Parkes—Sir George Dibbs—His Popularity and Success—Anecdote of Sir George Dibbs and Lady Dorothy Neville.

I LEFT Scone to take up practice in Sydney in July, 1882, and received numerous tokens of regard, amongst others an illuminated address and a valuable watch and appendages, purchased by general subscription. An amusing comment upon this presentation appeared in one of the Sydney newspapers to the effect that everybody had subscribed except the local undertaker, who refused, saying I had been no friend to him.

Very shortly after reaching Sydney my dear wife was attacked by a very grave illness, which prevented my commencing practice until November. Everything went well, however, and early in 1883 I was elected as surgeon on the honorary staff of the

Sydney Hospital. This appointment was the source of much interesting operative surgery, the period being that of transition from the earlier principles of Lister to its present much advanced phase. At that time it was considered necessary to sterilise the atmosphere of the operating theatre by atomising a carbolic solution. I found this a serious handicap, as its inhalation always produced in me marked indications of poisoning. This is now a thing of the past, and it has been found that surgical cleanliness of the hands, instruments, and the dress of the surgeon and assistants is all that is requisite, the wound being thoroughly cleansed with germicidal solutions.

I very well remember the first case in which union by first intention, without suppuration, occurred in an amputation of the thigh. At a large London hospital the operator called for water to wash the wound, and by some mistake the nurse handed a basin of clear fluid, which, after the patient had been returned to bed, was found to have been a solution of chloride of zinc. Much apprehension was felt as to the prospects of recovery, and every symptom arising was closely watched. To everyone's astonishment the patient made a recovery which was at that time unprecedented, and reports of the extraordinary success spread so rapidly that washing wounds with a solution of chloride of zinc was quickly tried in other institutions, among others at University College Hospital, where I was at the time dresser to Mr. Quain.

The proceeding did not invariably prove so great a success as in the first case, which is not surprising when we take into consideration the custom of that

period. Nowadays, to guard against septic germs in surgical cases, every one in the operating room wears the cleanest external apparel, including a cap covering the hair, while many doctors keep the face clean shaven. Formerly any old coat, kept hung in a dusty cupboard when not in use, was donned by the surgeon when operating, for the protection of his usual garments. It is said that Quain's operating coat had been in constant use for more than twenty years, and it was bloodstained and dusty enough to support the statement. The bare idea fills the modern surgeon with horror, and it is difficult to conceive how it was possible for the subject of any severe operation to recover at all.

After a time I found that my other professional engagements and my preoccupation with public affairs rendered the Sydney Hospital appointment too great a burden, and I therefore resigned it.

In 1882 Mr. Ludwig Bruck, the well-known medical publisher of Australia, established the *Australasian Medical Gazette*, a monthly publication of which I undertook the editorship, holding it until 1893, when I retired. Mr. Bruck is a publisher of great experience, so that I found the work comparatively easy, having only to write the editorials and decide as to the merits of contributions. The rapid success of this professional journal is the best proof of the good result of our joint efforts. Almost from the start it was accepted as the representative organ of the medical profession in Australia, and before I retired from the editorial chair it had subscribers in every country, even in lands so remote as Chili, Russia, Roumania, and Japan. I may add that it is still flourishing.

For about three years I was secretary to the New South Wales branch of the British Medical Association. I was twice elected President, an unusual distinction, first in 1887, and again in 1892, when the third medical congress of Australasia held its session in Sydney.

At the congress held at Adelaide in 1887 I read two papers, one on cremation, of which I was an advocate in Australia, having introduced and carried a Bill to regulate it through the Legislative Council in 1886. I believed myself to be the earliest exponent in Australia of the sanitary advantages of this mode of disposing of the dead, until the Librarian of Parliament recently called my attention to the report of an address delivered in Sydney as early as November, 1863, by the late Doctor Brereton, strongly advocating its merits.

My second paper was entitled: "Fear as a factor in producing many of the alarming symptoms following the bite of Australian snakes," in which I showed that many indications generally believed to be evidences of the absorption of snake poison were also present in cases where the bite had been inflicted by a non-venomous reptile, and even when the wound caused by a wood splinter was thought by the patient to have been the bite of a snake. The views expressed in this paper gained endorsement by a letter from the late Sir Joseph Fayrer, the great authority in India on snake poison.

At this time no physiological antidote was known, and I suggested that if one were discovered it would be in the snake itself. This has since been justified by the researches of Professor Fraser of Edinburgh, and of Dr. Roux of the Pasteur Institute, which tend

to show that the blood serum of a horse which had been rendered immune by gradually increasing doses of snake venom, supplies, when injected, just such a remedy. This method is not of much practical value, because the quantity of serum necessary is so large that it can be injected only into the veins, or the peritoneal cavity; and such an injection would require to be done under antiseptic precautions impossible to a layman, and extremely difficult to a medical man. Professor Fraser also suggested in a letter to me that the virus of a snake of the same kind as the one which inflicted the wound is, if injected hypodermically, an effective antidote.

Permanganate of potash has been much vaunted as a remedy, although this is now disputed by the Indian authorities. This salt, however, can only be effective if brought into immediate contact with the poison very soon after the bite, and before the virus has been absorbed in quantity. A true antidote is one by the use of which death can be averted when the symptoms of snake poisoning have already appeared.

As early as 1883 apprehension was beginning to be felt at the possible peril of the rapid multiplication and spread of rabbits. I suggested that it might be possible to use diseases, fatal to these rodents, but innocuous to human beings, as a means of extermination. My letter to Sir Alexander Stewart, then Prime Minister, was laid before the Inter-Colonial Congress of 1884. I suggested that a large reward should be offered for the discovery of some means of destruction, and recommended that advice as to the utility of disease for this purpose should be sought from those supremely eminent pioneers in

bacteriology, Pasteur and Koch.* My suggestion created such general interest that *The Times* commented on it in an editorial, on April 3, 1884.

At that time England's knowledge of Australia was not even so full as it is now—defective as many colonists still feel it to be—and the conclusions drawn by the writer of the article were often wide of the mark. For instance, the remark, in suggesting possible perils, that " a poor farmer when he loses a hundred sheep does not consider whether the cause was a disease or a plague, for the sheep are dead."

Though the loss of a " hundred sheep " might in England be of considerable moment, in Australia it would hardly excite comment, even from the owner. As an instance of the different estimates of value in the two countries, I can cite a case within my own knowledge, in which through the unavoidable effect of drought a friend lost 96,000 sheep within a few weeks, but, rain coming in plenty, he promptly

* The rabbit invasion of Australia is but an additional proof that there is " nothing new under the sun," for the same peril was experienced in ancient times in Spain and the Balearic Islands. Both Strabo and Pliny the Younger mention it.

The former says : " There are no injurious animals (in Spain) except the burrowing hares, which some call rabbits ; these destroy trees, plants, and crops by eating the roots. This pest extends over the whole of Spain and as far as Marseilles, and causes trouble in the islands. The inhabitants of the Balearic group are said to have sent an embassy to Rome to ask for new territory, as they were driven out of their homes by the overwhelming numbers of these creatures." He then goes on to tell how the Spaniards imported wild cats, probably ferrets, from Africa and trained them to hunt the rabbits in the burrows. Pliny wrote in his Natural History : " To the hare family belong rabbits (' cuniculos ' as they are called in Spain), creatures of excessive fecundity, which caused a famine in the Balearic Islands by devouring the crops. The inhabitants use them for food. It is a known fact that the Balearic population asked the Emperor Augustus to send military forces to deal with them."

A FLOCK OF SHEEP IN TH

ERINA DISTRICT, N.S.W.

purchased from other districts 120,000 to replace them and re-stock his then abundantly grassed station.

The rabbit problem in Australia is of such moment that it deserves more than a passing reference. The committee of the Legislative Council of South Australia in its report recommended that disease should be tried. An official report stated that in the previous year 19,182,539 rabbits were known to have been destroyed in New South Wales, and it was probable that more than that number had been killed by poison, by noxious gases introduced into their burrows, or by natural enemies, indigenous or imported. Yet so little effect had been produced that they were apparently more numerous than ever and were spreading over a greater extent of country. It is not difficult to keep them under in the more thickly settled districts, where the holdings are securely fenced with rabbit-proof netting ; but it is impossible to do so in less populated parts, especially in the neighbourhood of extensive scrubs, in which they are unassailable except by the automatic dissemination of disease, innocuous to man and other animals or birds.

In my opinion the discovery of a safe means of infection was quite possible, and I was supported by the opinions of many scientists, including Pasteur, Koch, and Virchow. The disease which Pasteur recommended was chicken cholera, but this was found ineffective in Australia, its virulence being too rapidly destroyed by the heat of the climate. It would also have been necessary to disseminate it by hand, in the same way as strychnia, phosphorus, or similar poisons ; whereas to be really effective it is

indispensable that the disease should be automatically conveyed by infection from one animal to another. Even then, more than one destructive agency would be needed, for some few animals will prove to possess natural or acquired immunity, and so continue to be a source of future increase; a second, or even a third ailment would be needed to destroy exceptional instances.

The pastoralists, who are most interested in the suppression and, if possible, the extinction of the plague, were so culpably procrastinating in giving support to the suggestion that vested interests have now grown up which render the adoption of such means of destruction more difficult than it would formerly have been. By large joint subscriptions, however, a fund was recently provided to enable a European scientist to try, under working conditions in the field, a method which had not only proved highly successful in the laboratory, but also in some parts of Europe with rodents in the open. It has not proved to be equally efficient in Australia, probably, as in the case of chicken cholera, on account of the difference of climate.*

The great opponents of the use of disease for the destruction of rabbits in Australia are those engaged in their export as a food product, either as catchers, or as freezers and shippers. To a working man their capture is a most lucrative employment, and it is

* A somewhat similar condition of things occurred in the case of the protective serum against anthrax. That which proved most effective in France was found to be of little use in Australia. To render it practicable it required such modifications as resulted from the researches of Mr. McGarvie Smith of Sydney, and the late Hon. J. Alexander Gunn of Wagga, N.S.W. In the new form it is marvellously protective, and millions of sheep and thousands of cattle have been preserved by its use.

stated that five pounds a week per man is not an unusual return. Where all have votes the political influence of such men is no negligible quantity. Had the proposal to disseminate a destructive disease when it was first advanced received the hearty support of those then most interested, and now most eager for its use, there would have been but little opposition to its adoption after experiments had proved it to be harmless and effective. The carrying capacity for stock on pastoral holdings has been extraordinarily lessened by the presence of rabbits. For instance, the Kulnine run in Riverina yielded 800 bales of wool in 1880, but its food supply for sheep was so decreased by the presence of rabbits that in 1883 it could only produce 300. So rapidly did these animals spread that it was stated at this time that in the course of eighteen months they travelled 250 miles up the banks of the Darling River.

Another means of extirpation, which I think would be effective in closely-fenced districts, has been repeatedly advocated by Mr. W. Rodier, of Tambua, Cobar, N.S.W., after successful and continuous use on his own holding. He secures in live-catching traps every rabbit possible, and, while killing all the females, releases the males. His theory is that the large excess of bucks thus ensured results in the sterility of the does. This assertion is supported not only by the appearance of his run as compared with country only separated from it by a rabbit-proof fence, but also by the reports of the official inspectors.

In August, 1885, I was summoned by the Crown to the Legislative Council, the Upper House of the

Parliament of New South Wales. My summons to the Legislative Council was the act of Lord Augustus Loftus, who had previously been British Ambassador at various European Courts, including St. Petersburg and Vienna. He was a younger son of a former Marquis of Ely, and with his brothers had considerable exuberance of spirits; harmless enough, no doubt, but sufficient to gain them the sobriquet of the "wicked sons of Eli."

Among the first questions I dealt with was one, then and now of much importance to Australia, and still the subject of discussion: the national ownership of the New Hebrides. This group of islands, in close proximity to the French possession of New Caledonia, which lies between them and Australia, had, for a long series of years, been constantly visited by traders from Sydney who established there commercial stations that afterwards became lucrative business centres.

By this action of our colonists Great Britain had secured such a right to consideration, that when France proposed to add these islands to her possessions in the Pacific she felt it necessary to ask the consent of the Mother Country before taking possession. Representation from Australia, however, sufficed to prevent consent being given, and a treaty was made by which Great Britain and France were to exercise co-ordinate power over the New Hebrides. This unsatisfactory control still continues, much to the cost not only of the islands themselves, but also of both French and British traders. Neither power has authority to control the most important questions, and each nationality is ruled by its own Government. In 1885 I raised the question in the

Legislative Council, and suggested that, as a settled Government with undivided authority was all-important, it would be to Australian interests for these colonies to become French, subject to certain compensations being obtained in return, and to the proper protection of existing British interests.

I suggested one very important condition : that no French convicts were to be sent to any part of the Pacific, and that a large number of the worst already in New Caledonia should be deported elsewhere. There is good reason to believe that this suggestion would have been adopted, with the result that the expenditure of the French Government would have so decreased that its Pacific possessions would have been quickly starved, and, becoming apparently of so little value, by this time they would probably have been British colonies in connection with Australia. The discovery in New Caledonia of immense mineral wealth, especially in the form of nickel, has so changed the aspect of affairs that this contingency can no longer be hoped for. As it is, the island does not enjoy the active prosperity to which its natural resources entitle it, and it is often jokingly remarked to visitors from our land that it will never really do well until it annexes Australia, union with which would be welcomed by the most enterprising residents, and accepted with equanimity by almost all the rest.

Another question upon which I invited the consideration of the House was that of vaccination. It has never been compulsory in New South Wales, and I pointed out in what a fool's paradise we were then, and still are, living as a consequence of this neglect. The marvellous success which has attended

the efficient exercise of quarantine restrictions has carried the State through several very grave periods of danger from small-pox. In 1879-80 our people were in the greatest peril of what might have proved an incontrollable pestilence. Although the neglect of vaccination had been very marked, at that time it was nothing to what it now is, which is shown by the fact that, although there were 42,195 births registered in New South Wales in 1907, there were only thirty-nine vaccinations reported for the same year. During this outbreak, however, protection was so generally sought that the rate of vaccination increased to 211.21 per cent of the births, and this notwithstanding the fact that the demand for vaccine lymph was so great that only a proportion of the applications could be complied with.

Sooner or later small-pox will inevitably evade the precautions hitherto so successful in Australia, and then it will be realised even by the most obstinate opponents of vaccination what the pestilence can be in an unprotected country. But at what cost! There will be thousands upon thousands of deaths, with tens of thousands of non-fatal cases; a large proportion of those who recover will be left permanently disfigured, and very many permanently weakened by it.*

As an example of what may happen at any time to a community which from false confidence has permitted its people to neglect vaccination, no instance can be more convincing than the outbreak of small-pox which occurred in Montreal in 1885. In February that year a Pullman car conductor

* A great outbreak of small-pox in N. S. Wales in July, 1913, has fulfilled this prediction.

was discovered to have arrived there from Chicago affected by small-pox. It spread like wildfire, and within nine months 3,164 persons died from it. In the week ending October 3, 1885, the deaths were 300. The cases which were infected but recovered amounted to upwards of 12,000. This great mortality and sickness occurred in a city which at that time had less than 140,000 inhabitants, 100,000 of them unvaccinated.

There is no disease which in its repulsiveness and danger can be compared with small-pox. Plague and cholera are nothing to it, for these are controllable with comparative ease. The destruction of rats will effectively lessen the danger of infection by the one, and the use of an uncontaminated water supply quickly brings to an end an outbreak of the other.*

I have already mentioned that I was greatly interested in the question of cremation in Australia. In 1886 I introduced a Bill in the Upper House of Parliament for its regulation. I received the support of the Lieutenant-Governor and former Chief Justice, Sir Alfred Stephen, and also of the late Sir Frederick Darley, who subsequently held both these distinguished positions, but who, at that time, like myself, occupied a seat in the Upper Chamber.

An incident which occurred on the third reading of the Bill was the cause of considerable amusement. One of the older members who had achieved some reputation as a financial critic was strongly opposed to the measure and objected to its third reading

* An outbreak of small-pox occurred in New South Wales at the time of writing, the alarm created being so great as to cause upwards of 150,000 persons to request vaccination in about six weeks. Many more continue to apply for this protection.

being taken as a formal business, an unusual proceeding at that stage of a Bill. An account had recently been published in *The Times* describing the unrolling of the mummy of Rameses the Great. This he read as part of his speech, remarking that if this "disgraceful proposal" for the disposal of the dead had been adopted in the time of this ancient monarch we should not now possess specimens of these "delightful mummies." In my reply I expressed my fear that succeeding generations might have to do without mummies, as probably few people would choose mummification in preference to cremation, on account of the cost, and still fewer would be deterred from cremation by the altruistic desire of affording interesting curiosities for posterity. I pointed out that in his own case, however, he might do a public service by providing money for his body to be embalmed after an account of the most important contemporary events had been tattooed upon it, and that enwrapped with it should be "May's Parliamentary Practice," with copies of the Minutes of the Session and of the Bill itself. We could then imagine the delight and astonishment of future archæologists who, by unrolling the mummy of this "majestic old man," to quote the report he had read, revealed the records of the ancient people living in New South Wales in A.D. 1886. The reference to the "majestic old man" was received with much amusement, because my opponent was short and thick-set, and dressed rather with a view to comfort than appearance. Meanwhile Sir Frederick entered thoroughly into the fun, and from his seat behind me incited me to continue by stage asides such as: "Keep on! Give him some more!"

A Grave and Burning Question.—Dr. Creed's N.S.W. Cremation Bill.

PHIL MAY UPON ME AND MY CREMATION BILL

Although this Bill was repeatedly passed by the Upper House, and sent to the Legislative Assembly, it never got to its second reading in what is humorously described in all countries as the "popular" Chamber.*

The statutes governing the practice of medicine and surgery in New South Wales were very ineffective in 1887. They were survivals from the time when in the absence of a qualified practitioner any man having the slightest professional knowledge, however acquired, was welcomed and consulted.

* There is another argument for cremation, which, however, I did not mention, for it has only come into prominence since then. Recently an ever-increasing dread has arisen in the minds of many people that they may be buried alive, and it is not unusual for a special memorandum to be left giving instructions that such precautions shall be taken at their real or supposed decease as will insure that if dormant life is not detected its absence shall be insured before burial by the destruction of some essential organ. There are, of course, some people whose burial could not be premature, but any fear of premature burial would be removed were cremation adopted as the means for the disposal of people's bodies.

In 1910, through the courtesy of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, conveyed by the Consul-General of that great country, in Sydney I was afforded information furnished by the Academy of Medicine in Paris as to the means recommended by Dr. Icard of Marseilles for detecting latent vitality in the supposed dead. He pointed out some time since that if a small quantity of a solution of fluorescene with carbonate of soda be injected anywhere beneath the skin of a person believed to be dead, nothing follows if death has really occurred, but if the slightest life remains, though quite imperceptible from ordinary indications, the mucous membranes turn yellow and the eyes green, so much so that the pupils resemble emeralds. On this being seen and means of resuscitation adopted, it quickly passes away, leaving no ill effects.

Before leaving Sydney I brought this method to the notice of the Health Authorities there, and was officially informed that in all cases in institutions under their control its use had been directed.

I was appointed Chairman of the Select Committee that I had suggested should take evidence. By this means I hoped to be able to record such facts as would induce legislative action.

The majority of the well-known quacks were called as witnesses. The most startling testimony was given and, on the report with the evidence on which it was founded being published, the keenest public interest was aroused. One newspaper in a not inconsiderable degree owes its present very successful position to having published the entire document in its columns. On the appearance of the first instalment the usual issue of the paper was so quickly exhausted that the presses had to be re-started. This greatly increased sale continued for the eleven days that this " good copy " was available, and the newspaper-sellers were " rushed " each morning by eager readers.

When I submitted my draft report to the committee I suggested that we should not forbid anyone to practice, but should confine our recommendation to prevent its being done under a false pretence. In this view of what would be most effective for the public safety I subsequently found I was running on lines similar to those advocated by that illustrious scientist and eminently practical man, Professor Huxley. I realised that a thing forbidden is by many minds the most desired. By attempting to stop all practice except by men who had legally proved their competence, pseudo-martyrs might be created and public sympathy excited in their favour. This in itself would have been a result to avoid.

The immediate effect on public opinion was very great, so much so that I was proffered support in my

efforts by almost every man of influence. This is shown in the following letter of which every signature is that of a church dignitary, or of a gentleman occupying a representative position.

These distinguished men requested Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister, to receive them, that they might personally make their representations. A few days before the time appointed Sir Henry informed them that the interview would have to be postponed, as he would be absent from his office on the day named. They therefore addressed him as follows :

" SIR,

" Whilst expressing our regret that your absence on September 10 prevented us from waiting on you, as we proposed, we fear that the duties of our various offices will render it impossible for us to assemble again at such an early period as would make our interview of useful effect. Under these circumstances, we therefore trust that you will pardon us when, instead of as at first intended waiting upon you to make our representations in person, we convey them in writing.

" We desire to bring under the notice of yourself and colleagues forming the Government of this Colony, the practical absence of any law in any way controlling the practice of Medicine and Surgery in New South Wales, or granting such protection to the public as would enable its members to ascertain promptly and surely whether persons practising as medical practitioners have passed through the necessary course of training or have really obtained the diplomas they claim to possess.

" The terrible evils consequent upon this state of the law have been so forcibly brought under our notice by the publication of the evidence given before

the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, that we feel it is a duty incumbent on the occupants of the offices which we hold to make representations of the urgent necessity for such legislative action as will remedy them.

"Feeling also that it is not advisable that a measure of such vital importance to the public well-being should be introduced by a private member, we most respectfully ask that you, as Premier, and the other gentlemen of your Government, will take the matter into early and earnest consideration, and that you will introduce a Bill during the coming Session of Parliament for the regulation of the practice of medicine and surgery in New South Wales.

"We have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servants,

"ALFRED STEPHEN, Lieutenant-Governor.

"FREDK. M. DARLEY, Chief Justice.

"PATRICK, CARDINAL MORAN, Archbishop of Sydney.

"ALFRED SYDNEY, Primate.

"L. A. JOSEPH, President Chamber of Commerce.

"A. J. RILEY, Mayor of Sydney.

"CHARLES BRIGHT, Chairman Baptist's Union, N.S.W.

"WILLIAM G. R. STEPHENSON, President Wesleyan Conference.

"ALEXANDER BARNARD DAVIS, Rabbi of Jewish Congregation of N.S.W.

"JAMES HILL, M.A., Chairman of the Congregational Union, N.S.W."

A stronger team never pulled together on any question in Australia, and their proffered support was highly appreciated, except perhaps by the Prime Minister to whom it was addressed.

Sir Henry Parkes, apparently from personal pique, shuffled so as to avoid as far as possible such action as would add credit to myself, for I was at this time actively attacking his administration as Defence Minister. He was unconsciously aided in his inaction by a brother practitioner who chanced during that Parliament to be a member of the Legislative Assembly. He waited on the Prime Minister and said: "Do you, Sir Henry, as head of the Government, intend to introduce a Bill which will protect sick people from the evils revealed by the Select Committee? Because if you do not, I will."

Sir Henry Parkes eagerly seized the excuse for doing nothing, and replied: "Perhaps it would be well that you should take the subject up."

Soon after, on meeting my confrère, I upbraided him for thus assisting Sir Henry to avoid his manifest duty, suggesting he should "stick to his Racing Totalisator Bill, with which he was perhaps qualified to deal, and leave medicine alone."

By impulsively interfering he delayed the creation of the necessary law for some years, for such a measure requires the legislative power of the Government, and can rarely be passed by a private member. On this ground I refused to initiate it myself, though subsequently by order of the Upper House I again presided over another Select Committee appointed to call more evidence and deal with a measure introduced by another member.

This Bill was modified by the Committee until it was framed on the lines I had suggested at the first enquiry, but after passing the Upper it was very effectively blocked in the Lower House.

Subsequently, however, better success was

achieved with another measure, and now, unless a man is registered, thus proving that his diplomas have been acquired after the necessary medical training and due examination, he is not allowed as formerly was the case to announce or to advertise himself as a medical practitioner.

In consequence of a change in Imperial policy, the small detachments of Her Majesty's Army which had been stationed in the various colonies of Australia were in 1870 withdrawn by the Liberal Government, under the Premiership of Mr. Gladstone, presumably in the pursuit of economy in his administration. At the time it was the cause of much dissatisfaction, being regarded as a practical indication of the indifference felt by that statesman towards these portions of the empire, and as a proof of the little value set upon them by the Liberal Party in general. But as matters afterwards turned out, it has proved to be for the best. Australia has been taught to rely upon her own resources for defence, and is now showing herself capable of doing so. Not only are we raising a sufficient land force, but we are forming the nucleus of a local navy that will at all events make it a difficult matter for one or two cruisers which may have evaded the Imperial fleets near an enemy's base to blockade our ports to the temporary destruction of our commerce.

When I re-entered Parliament in 1885 I started a crusade in favour of reforming the management of the defence force of the State, then in a very unsatisfactory condition. At that time the Prime Minister was Sir Patrick Jennings, with Sir Henry Parkes as Leader of the Opposition. A few months after I had begun my work the former was defeated,

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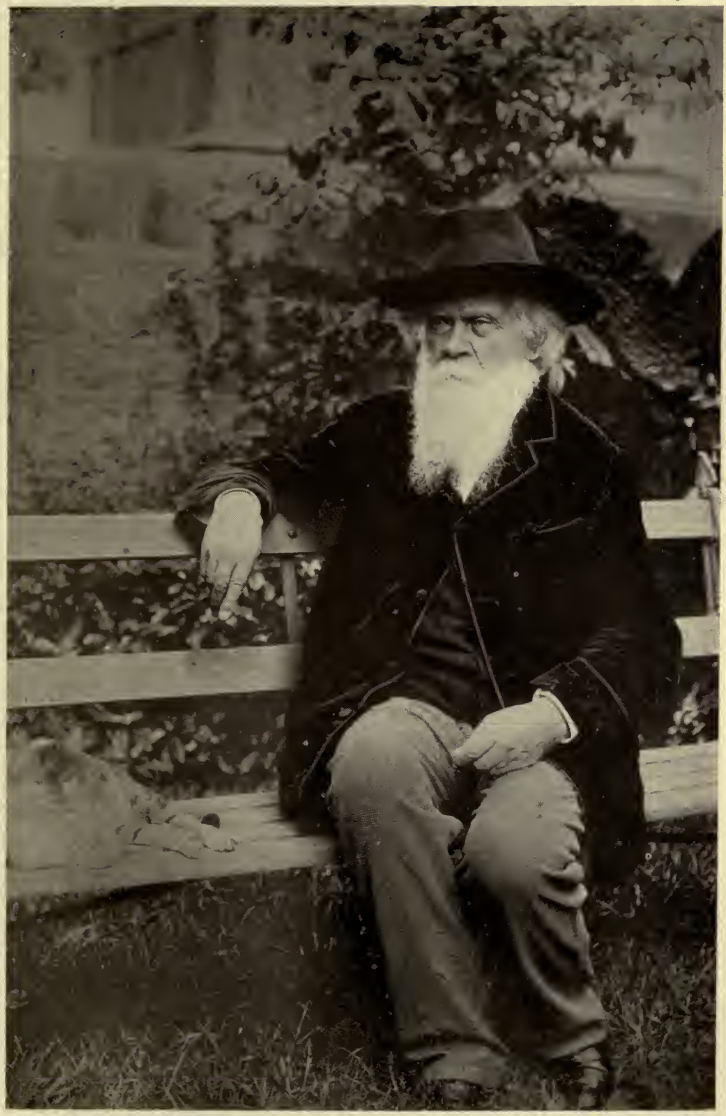

SIR HENRY PARKES, G.C.M.G.

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and Sir Henry took office as Premier and Chief Secretary, the administration of the military business dealing with the defence of New South Wales passing into his hands.

As soon as the new Ministry had come in, thinking that Sir Henry would be prepared to remedy the defects of his predecessor, I waited on him with the view of arranging some system of reform. I was prepared to do all the work and to leave him the lion's share of the credit, if only he would give me the support and assistance which his official position afforded. He met me, however, with such distinct hostility that I immediately abandoned all idea of co-operation. I now realise that had I been less prompt in taking up the gauntlet we might have been able to work advantageously together in this urgent business. His extraordinary reception of my overtures was only a manifestation of his desire to have me perfectly tame before we joined forces.

From the first I felt confident I should win, as I eventually did; but I believed I could gain the victory over him in three months, when in reality it required three years, at the end of which time he gave me an opportunity of castigating him in the Press in a letter published simultaneously by the four leading daily papers. The justification of my action was shown by the absence of any reply from him, and by his promptly making advances to me which I willingly reciprocated. I had been urged from time to time by his friends to take up a more amenable attitude towards him. I had declined, however, to act on such advice.

"Why don't you make friends with the old

man ? " they would ask. " It would be good for him, good for you, and good for the country."

" I am doing my best to make a friend of him," was my reply.

" What ! and speak of him in the House and write of him in the Press as you do ? "

" Yes ! and if you realised his disposition as well as I do, you would not question my wisdom, for the only way to be on good terms with Sir Henry is continuously to hit him so hard as to make him realise that one is better as a friend than as a foe."

The renewal of friendly relations, however, was of little avail, for he retired very soon afterwards, believing he would return to office in a few weeks. In this, however, he was deceived, for his successor, Sir George Dibbs, so gained and retained the confidence of the country as to keep Parkes in the cold shade of opposition for the remainder of his life.

It is unquestionable that the plodding ability and force of character possessed by him were of great service to the country of his adoption, to which he came when a young man in a humble social position. It is, however, equally beyond doubt that, great as his public services were, in view of the opportunities which he had, they might have been many times greater. He was essentially an opportunist, and an extremely shrewd judge of the trend of opinion. It was this phase of his character which made him so successful, handicapped as he was by his procrastination and indifference.

Sir George Dibbs deserved his success, which his talents thoroughly justified. Not only was he a sound politician but he possessed many qualities

that endeared him to his friends. Bonhomie, good breeding, and absence of self-consciousness made him a most engaging companion. He could say things which other men could not have uttered without offence. On one occasion, as Premier of New South Wales, he attended a garden party given by the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) at Marlborough House, at which Queen Victoria was present. Having been presented to one of the Royal Princesses, Sir George was asked what he thought of the smoking of cigarettes by a distinguished society lady who was then passing. He replied: "I don't like it at all, your Royal Highness. I think a pretty woman's lips were intended for better things than holding a cigarette." His answer met with approval, for it was repeated to a Royal Duchess, who is reported to have said to Lady Dorothy Neville: "Oh, Lady Dorothy, you must ask me to lunch, for I must meet that man." About this time Sir George Dibbs attracted much notice in the United States, which he visited on his way back to Australia, by saying to a newspaper man who had asked for an interview, stating that he wanted it for Chicago: "Damn Chicago!" This so harmonised with the feelings of New York that it was published everywhere. In fact, one lecture agent offered Sir George his own terms for a series of lectures which, being given by the man who had damned Chicago, would have drawn immensely.

CHAPTER VI

LEGISLATIVE WORK

The Defences of Australia—Projected Russian Invasion of the Continent—Reorganisation of the Military Forces—Sir Henry Parkes as *raconteur*—Anecdotes of Prince Albert Victor and Prince George when Midshipmen on *H.M.S. Bacchante*—Sir Henry Parkes and Federation—The Convention Bill—Visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to Australia in 1901—Free Trade—The Japanese in Australia—Legislation against Unscrupulous Hawking—Financial Crisis in Australia—Prompt Action of Sir George Dibbs—Illegitimacy Disability Removal Bill—Bill Providing for Mining on Private Estates—The Reconstitution of the Legislative Council—Income and Land Taxes—Annexation of Hawaii by the United States.

THE question of our defences, and the military forces to man them, had been neglected by successive Governments, and it was only when the Pendjeh incident in 1885 threatened the British Empire with an outbreak of war with Russia that their defective control aroused public attention. The urgency of efficiency was then first brought home by a cable message which reached the Government about May, 1885. It was to this effect:

"Put yourselves in a state ready for instant defence, as you may be attacked at any moment."

From information received from an authoritative source, it appears that the imperial authorities had only just heard that a number of vessels had left various ports of Europe, having on board 15,000

picked Russian soldiers who had passed through neutral countries dressed as civilians and in the guise of emigrants. The scheme had been carried out so secretly that it was only when the ships had arrived at the secret *rendez-vous* in the seas in the neighbourhood of Australia that information leaked out.

Sydney put a good face on the matter, and with the material and men available organised the best defence possible under the circumstances. A Council of War was called on receipt of the important news, including the Governor, Rear-Admiral Tryon, then in command of the Australian squadron, the commander of the local military forces, and the Executive Ministers of the State, only one of whom, however, was present at the first meeting, which took place on a Sunday afternoon, all the others being absent from Sydney. A plan was then settled upon.

Shortly before these events the Australian military contingent had been offered to the Imperial Government for service in the Soudan, and this no doubt had some effect in directing the attention of a hostile nation to so distant a community.

The admiral's determination in the event of war, to destroy all supplies of coal in the outlying seaports of the Continent, irrespective of ownership, public or private, accentuates the urgency of such alteration in the existing railways in the various states as will permit the rolling stock of each individual line to run over the others, irrespective of gauge.* This varies in Australia so much that it would render

* In New South Wales the one generally accepted as the standard is 4 feet 8½ inches; in Victoria, and on a part of the lines of South Australia, it is 5 feet 3 inches, whilst those of Queensland, West Australia, and the remaining part of South Australia have one of 3 feet 6 inches.

the rapid conveyance of coal for the use of H.M.'s ships to outlying ports practically impossible, as the fuel would have to be transferred at the border junctions. The same difficulty would occur in the case of the transport of troops, guns, and material. To make the gauges uniform would involve the expenditure of so many millions that it is not really practicable. I am confident, however, that the problem will shortly be solved by an invention of Mr. A. R. Angus of Sydney, by which rolling stock fitted with it can be safely run on any railway irrespective of the distance between the rails, at the usual speed. This may seem impracticable, but in the opinion of many experts it will actually be accomplished by the suggested improvement. Preparations for the demonstration of the method will shortly be completed in England. With its aid it will be possible in a few hours to send coal to whatever port requires it. The cars could be kept loaded with fuel so as to be immediately available, and stationed at convenient places, yet far enough from the coast to be safe from the enemy. In this way no coal need be stored where it would be liable to capture by an enemy's ships.

Fortunately for Australia, Great Britain and Russia came to an understanding which removed the imminent danger of war, and the expedition dispatched against Australia was dispersed. Many of the soldiers who had gone on board in mufti subsequently landed at Vladivostock in uniform. This incident is hardly known to the world, but my information came so directly from an absolutely trustworthy source that I know it to have a good foundation.

The Russian plans involved a simultaneous attack on Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, with the object

of committing such destruction as would terrorise the inhabitants and enable the hostile forces to loot the gold in the banks and other places, amounting to many millions. An eminent banker informed me that, to his personal knowledge, the managers of banks were warned to pack all their gold so as to be ready for immediate transport to the interior should the expected attack occur.

It was in relation to this alarm that on July 29, 1891, I took a course new to colonial legislature, by moving an address to the Queen direct, instead of appealing to the Governor as Her Majesty's representative, in which I prayed "that there be laid before the Legislative Council of New South Wales copies of communications made by your Majesty's Imperial Government to former Governors of New South Wales, conveying to them information as to ascertained particulars of plans formulated by other nations prospectively hostile to Great Britain for attacks upon that and the other colonies of Australia between January 1, 1871, and December 31, 1887."

Few Australians had any idea of the imminence of their peril, especially in 1878 and 1885, and possibly at other times also. On both those occasions expeditions for attacks on Australia were completely organised and only waited the word to start on their mission of destruction. No formal declaration of war would have been made against Great Britain had no peaceful arrangement been come to, but hostilities would have been declared by an attack upon our shores. Sydney would have been the first place to be assailed.

I did not receive the support in the House to which I think the weight of the question submitted entitled

me. It was, however, of the utmost importance that the feeling of the people should be roused so as to ensure that fitting preparations for their defence would be promptly commenced. This I pressed upon the members.

There was another enemy we had to fear, now fortunately removed by the Entente Cordiale. France was said to be drilling her convicts in our neighbourhood with dummy rifles, to be exchanged for real ones when the proper time came, to be used in making an attack on these colonies. I drew attention to this in the Legislative Council.

I was not successful in carrying the resolution, which was opposed by the Parkes Government, for it was obvious that had the community been put in possession of such irrefutable evidence of the danger which the State had so narrowly escaped, indignation would have been roused by the neglect of the Prime Minister to create efficiency in the military forces, the need for which had been so frequently pressed upon him by the resolutions of the Legislative Council as a consequence of my persistent action in it. I submit, however, that the course I took was the most fitting ; that the production of the papers would have been of eminent public service ; that it was necessary to address the Imperial Government in order to obtain them, and that the correct method to this end was by means of an address to her Majesty and not to the Governor.

One result of that alarm was that a resolution was moved in the Legislative Council by the Honourable F. M. Darley urging upon the Government of Sir Patrick Jennings the necessity of reorganising the military forces of the Mother State.

It was at this time that I first started to bring about the reform so urgently needed by speaking in support of the motion. My speech was a long one, filling thirteen columns of Hansard, and I gave a number of facts which incontestably proved the necessity for action. I did not consider that the original motion went far enough, and moved an amendment, asking that a commission of specialists should be appointed to make searching enquiry into the condition of the forces. I suggested that the State Government might fairly ask the admiral on the station to appoint a post captain as president with the officers at the head of the marine artillery, the torpedo branch, and the marine infantry as specialists. In this speech I first suggested an exchange of officers between the Imperial army and the local forces. This course has since been in a measure adopted, to the advantage of both. The resolution was carried, but very little good resulted, and I continued my agitation until Sir George Dibbs assumed office, on the defeat of the Ministry of Sir Henry Parkes, in 1892, when a change was made, which was the basis of the fair efficiency subsequently brought about.

I need not record in detail the efforts I made to press the matter upon the Government during those five years. In May, 1887, and in June of the following year I moved resolutions in the Upper Chamber calling for further investigation into the state of our defences, and action upon the recommendations already made.

In May, 1889, I again put the subject very fully before the House, and moved :

" That it is the opinion of this House that the

administration of affairs connected with the military and naval forces enrolled for the defence of this Colony should be conducted by a separate department of Government and that the efficiency of the defences and economy in administration would be promoted by such a change from the present system."

I pointed out that New South Wales got but inadequate return for the very large expenditure, when the number of its population is considered, as compared with that of the neighbouring State of Victoria. The defences of the latter Colony, as was pointed out both by the late Earl of Carnarvon and by Lord Brassey, who both had special information relating to each of them, were satisfactory and had been held up by high authorities in England as an example to the Imperial Government worthy of being followed. In the Mother Colony, on the contrary, though the expenditure for the same period had been £680,000 more, it had been so inefficiently used as to have had but little result in making her secure.

The most extraordinary feature of this debate (which was concluded on June 6) was the obvious desire of some members of the House to let the Prime Minister down lightly. One gentleman, even after the revelations I had been able to make, said:

"On the whole I believe the thanks of the community are due to the honourable member Mr. Creed for the pains he has taken in exposing abuses; but we must be very careful before we accept his resolution. For my part, I feel proud to think that the Government is the very best judge of what should

be done in regard to this matter, and I therefore feel bound to vote against the resolution."

The representative of the Government, in his reply, after admitting that all I said was true, and promising reform, went on to say :

" I cannot accept his resolution, especially after the observations which have fallen from him ; for if I understand him aright his intention is to pass censure on the head of the Government. The honourable member said he could not accept the amendment because he would not consent to the defence works remaining under the control of the Chief Secretary's department."

On the question being put, so many of his obsequious supporters left the Chamber that only twenty members out of a quorum of twenty-one were present, only three of whom voted against me, and the President had therefore to adjourn the sitting. On the business being restored to the paper a division was taken, when thirty supported me and only nine voted adversely. Notwithstanding this no improvement took place, although the action of the Legislative Council was applauded and endorsed by the Press.

I continued in every practicable way to urge reform, but it was only on the defeat of Sir Henry Parke's Ministry, and the accession of that of Sir George Dibbs, that any real improvement took place.

When he accepted office due attention was paid to my representations, and my advice to ask the Imperial Government for a military officer suitable as commandant was acted on. Colonel (now Sir Edward) Hutton was appointed, with local rank as Major-General. Under this officer fair efficiency of

the forces was obtained, and this continued until the establishment of Federation, when the forces of all the States comprising it came under the Commonwealth Minister for Defence.

Although at his retirement Sir Henry Parkes was confident of returning to office within a few weeks, he never did so.

About six weeks after the assumption of office by his successors and while he was still sure that their tenure would be short and his return certain, one evening, having an obsequious chorus near him, he thought fit to banter me by saying :

" I suppose, Doctor, the soldiers are all right now ? "

" Oh no, Sir Henry," I replied; " after such a long continuance of ignorant administration and gross ministerial neglect, it is impossible to put everything right in a month, you know."

Away from all cares of political power, Sir Henry Parkes developed at times an anecdotal mood and occasionally related interesting recollections. I remember his telling some incidents of the visit of King George and his elder brother, the late Duke of Clarence, Prince Albert Victor, when midshipmen on H.M.S. *Bacchante*, to Falconbridge, his residence in the Blue Mountains of New South Wales. Prince Albert Victor was easily tired, and one day for a rest he lay down in a wheelbarrow left in the grounds. Prince George coming along took charge and vigorously wheeled his brother about, winding up the escapade by shooting the exalted passenger into a convenient rubbish heap.

On another occasion a friendly dispute arose as to the merits of some new naval regulation, the

princes expressing contrary opinions. The elder brother was against the rule, whatever it may have been, which had the younger prince's unqualified approval. "Well," exclaimed Prince Albert Victor at length, "I do not like it, and some day I shall be King and then I will have it altered." On this, Prince George chipped in, saying: "You be King! A long time before that happens the reformers will have altered everything and arranged for the Crown to go by competitive examination, and of course I shall beat you hollow."

Those who had had some personal intercourse with the princes and were in a position to judge, could not but think this likely. I met both princes at this time and it was certainly my own impression, since confirmed by the few moments' conversation with which I was honoured on being informally presented to their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York at a ball at Government House, Sydney, in 1901, during their visit to Australia.

The attitude of Sir Henry Parkes in regard to the Federation of Australia has been greatly misunderstood; I therefore think it is not unfitting that I should give some account of his policy during the years of my association with him in the Legislature.

I do not think anyone will now dispute that as regards Federation his efforts were antagonistic. We can scarcely instance any matter where he has dealt with a neighbouring colony, in which he has exhibited a fair consideration for that colony, or has shown the "give and take spirit" which is essentially the federal one. If we take a few questions at random we shall see how little of a Federalist he has been in

his conduct of them. His action with regard to the waters of the Murray is an example. Undoubtedly as to mere legal title, the Murray River is in the territory of New South Wales to the Victoria Bank; but the waters of the upper Murray come in a larger proportion from Victoria than from New South Wales. We have no just right to claim the whole of those waters. We have a right to our fair share for irrigation. Victoria has a right to her proportion and South Australia to hers. His action was strongly criticised from all sides of the House, and by men of the highest standing in it, including three ex-Premiers.

Another occasion on which a federal and neighbourly spirit might have been shown was in 1887, when the Victorian Government wished to add immediate additional works to the defences of Port Phillip, and, knowing that New South Wales had a number of new type guns in store, the Minister for Defence there requested his Premier to write to Sir Henry Parkes, asking that he might exchange these guns for others of the same kind which had been ordered, but would not arrive for some months. The proposed exchange was refused, and yet the very guns asked for by the Victorian Government over two and a half years ago are still in store, unused. It would have been a positive gain to New South Wales to send those guns to Victoria and take later and newer ones in exchange. Complaint was then made of this "dog in the manger" conduct on the part of the Premier of the older colony.

Again, his proposal to change the name of the colony from New South Wales to "Australia" was not by any means likely to bring about a federal

spirit. The Premier eventually dropped the Bill and the State retains its original name.

Federation first received practical attention by the appointment of a convention of representatives of all the Australian States which in separate sessions held sittings in Adelaide, Sydney, and Melbourne. A committee of that body was appointed which drafted a Bill to be first submitted to each Australian Legislature for consideration and adoption, and eventually to be submitted as a schedule to a measure authorising the Union to be introduced in the Imperial Parliament. As a consequence, both Houses in New South Wales went into Committee for its consideration, with the purpose of making such suggestions as might guide the Convention in its final drafting.

Although I have always thought it would be a great gain to Australia to be united in one nation, still I believed that Federation might possibly be purchased at too great a cost even to Australia generally, and certainly to a colony occupying the position of New South Wales.

I voted against the adoption of the Bill because the Convention appointed to draw up the proposed Constitution had left at least four vital points undealt with—namely, the financial basis, the amalgamation of the debts of the various colonies, and the control of the railways and rivers. This omission would leave New South Wales at the mercy of the future Federal Parliament, elected by communities which in the past have always shown a very keen appreciation of their own interests in dealing with the Mother Colony. I still believe that the objections I then set forth to the acceptance of union on the basis of the Convention Bill were right.

The draft measure was submitted to a referendum of the electors of New South Wales on June 3, 1898, when 71,595 voted in its favour and 66,228 against, so that it was not accepted, as an amendment of the original act required that at least 80,000 should be in the affirmative. A vote was taken on the same day in three of the other States, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, by which the Bill was accepted in each of them by overwhelming majorities. At this time West Australia stood out, awaiting events, and the Queensland Parliament had rejected the measure authorising the reference to the people of that State.

The result was that Federation remained in abeyance.

The next step was a meeting of the Premiers of the States in conference at Melbourne, on June 29, 1899, when considerable amendment was made in the draft Bill. The clause which, on the initiative of Sir Edward Braddon provided for the return to each State of three-fourths of the customs revenue collected in it, was so altered as to limit its application to ten years. This term having expired, an arrangement was mutually agreed to in 1911 that in its place each State should have twenty-five shillings per head of its population returned to its Government, and that the balance, a continuously increasing amount, should be retained by that of the Commonwealth. Another alteration was that the Federal Capital should be in New South Wales, but not within one hundred miles of Sydney, and that the Parliament should sit at Melbourne until it met at the new seat of Government. The last provision was insisted on by the Premier of Victoria, and the intense desire of that

community to obtain everything and yield as little as possible prevailed. Parliament is still sitting there, and from time to time efforts are made to ensure that city becoming its permanent location. They have not been successful, as by the action of the Commonwealth Parliament the site at Canberra near Quenbeyan in New South Wales has been chosen. This decision is in accord with my objections to any of the existing capitals being selected.

Another changed provision was one which insured that no alteration should be made in the boundary of a State until a majority of its inhabitants desired it.

As a result of the Conference seven amendments were made in the Bill, the one of especial importance being the limiting to ten years of the Braddon clause, which provided for the return to each State of three-fourths of the income obtained in it by customs.

An Act was accordingly passed in New South Wales which provided for the submission of the amended constitution to a referendum at which a simple majority was to decide. This vote was taken on June 20, 1899, the result being that there were 107,420 affirmative as against 82,741 negative votes recorded.

This result was aided in a considerable degree by the fact that Queensland, which had hitherto remained inactive, passed an Act for the submission of the Amended Bill to the electors, when it was accepted by a substantial majority.

The five Eastern States having accepted the Bill, the resulting measure was sent to the Imperial Government that it might be submitted to Parliament as the schedule to an Act which would give it effect. It passed both the Lords and the Commons,

without any amendment as regards purely Australian interests, and with but slight change as affecting what were considered directly Imperial ones. The Royal assent was given to it on July 9, 1900, and a proclamation made it effective on January 1, 1901.

Subsequently the Parliament of Western Australia, which had hitherto stood out, after a referendum had been taken, passed addresses to Her Majesty that it also might be included as an original State in the Commonwealth in the Proclamation about to be made.

This request was granted and the whole of the six States commenced a national life. This was fittingly inaugurated by the visit of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York to Australia, the Duke delivering the address at the opening ceremony on New Year's Day, 1901. Their Royal Highnesses visited all the States, doing much by their gracious courtesy to cement union between Australia and the Mother Country.

The fervent loyalty of Australia is beyond question, and though not needing the presence of Royalty to keep it intensely alive, its people are grateful for the recognition which visits of members of the Royal Family afford.

I have already spoken of the dissatisfaction which I felt sure would arise as the result of federation in place of unification, in consequence of the continued existence of the six State Legislatures. My prophecies were amply fulfilled in the agitation which occurred in 1907 demanding the secession of New South Wales.

Though fully realising the substantial grievances of the malcontents, I then refused to accept secession

as the remedy, pointing out that most of the grievances were traceable to the continued existence of the numerous provincial Parliaments.

In 1911, though still holding the same opinion, I declined to vote at a referendum taken by the Commonwealth Government as to an amendment of the Constitution, by which the power entrusted to it would be increased and those of the provincial ones decreased, on the ground that the time was inopportune. Both in the Commonwealth and New South Wales, to the Parliament of which I belong, Labour Governments were in power; both were inexperienced in office, and neither would be a check upon the other in the case of imprudent legislation, possibly conserving class interests, being proposed. I felt that the proposals set forth went either too far or not far enough. I was and am prepared to accept the abolition of State Parliaments, but not their reduction to impotence while still existing.

When the vote was taken, on April 24, the proposals were defeated by an immense majority, whilst only in West Australia were they accepted.

I have not yet sought election to either House of the Commonwealth Legislature, being content still to continue in the field of usefulness afforded by the State Parliament of New South Wales, in which I have held a seat for so long a period, commencing in February, 1872.

Although I have always been an advocate of Free Trade, and still think it would be to the gain of the world if unrestricted exchange of productions both of raw material and manufactures could be established, I maintain that it should not be so one-sided as it now is.

Free Trade really only exists when no country restricts the imports into it. Great Britain has lessened the number of dutiable things to such an extent that she affords a market to the manufactures of all others, but gets so little consideration in return that her factories are daily finding that the sale of their output beyond her own dominions is heavily handicapped by the protective system of all other nations.

In consequence of Mr. Chamberlain's illness the adoption of Tariff Reform has doubtless been much less rapid than it might have been. It is to be regretted that it was impracticable to make it the policy of the Empire at the time that he proposed it. The nation which will most feel its pressure is Germany. I have always believed that Germany's most vulnerable point is her commerce and manufactures, and that the policy of the Empire in the event of hostilities should be to attack her through them.

Soon after the victory of Japan in her war with China, negotiations were entered into between New South Wales and that power with regard to reciprocity in commerce.

My opinion expressed in debate in the Legislative Council, in September, 1895, relating to the conditions of trade between Australia and Japan, has been borne out by experience. I pointed out that she would endeavour to establish her position as a manufacturing and exporting nation; that to do this she would require to buy raw material, and Australia was the source from which she would obtain wool, hides, etc. The millions of pounds she had recently got from China as an indemnity after the war placed the

rising country in a much better position, and I foresaw an increased consumption by her people of manufactured goods.

We could not overrate the importance to Australia of a country which was ambitious, not only to manufacture for herself, but also for China. We should gain an increased market for our largest staple produce, the one on which we chiefly depended. In 1912-13 Japan was almost the largest purchaser of Australian wools.

Having always had a sincere admiration for the virtues of the Japanese as a race, I have never slackened in my efforts to secure good feeling between them and our own people, especially that portion living in the island continent. Realising how deeply this Eastern nation felt the implied slight put upon it by classing its citizens with other Asiatics and coloured workers of inferior race, I wrote a letter in December, 1903, to the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth inviting his prompt attention to the question of entering, through the Imperial Government, into a treaty with Japan by which the admission of her people to Australia would be regulated by their own Government and not by the Legislative enactments of our own Parliament. It seemed to me vital that the Japanese should not be included in the Acts controlling the admission to this continent of the Asiatic and coloured races. They are of high intelligence, of great enterprise in every field of science and industry, and have such pride of race as equals, if it does not surpass, that of any European nation.

Though the Japanese Government was anxious to cultivate commercial relations with Australia, and therefore desired the free entrance of its educated

men, whether in pursuit of business or for other reasons, it was, I believed, entirely averse from sending any considerable number of its workers here. For in that case they would be of much less value to their native country than if they had settled in Formosa, then recently acquired by Japan, and still quite undeveloped.

A Japanese subject in Korea or Formosa is always sufficiently near his native land to be available in a national crisis. If he were in Australia his services to his country would be unavailable. I also suggested that if Japan were victorious in the then imminent war with Russia, her standing among the nations would be so vastly increased that she would not tamely submit to a national humiliation.

After the Russo-Japanese war I again pressed the matter upon the Government. I was not able, however, to induce it to take action, and I left the subject in abeyance until February 15, 1909, when I addressed a letter expressing my views to President Taft, which was acknowledged in March, 1909, by his secretary, and also by the Department of State to which it was forwarded by him, with the copies of my letters to the Australian Minister which I had enclosed. In it I wrote :

" I would point out that it is obviously to the interest of the Government of Japan, if it can do so without hostilely exciting the national pride of the Japanese people, to prevent its subjects going to countries not under its rule or direct influence. This is demonstrated by the statement of Viscount Hayashi, the Japanese Foreign Minister, as reported in the Press during the second week of November, 1907, when he said :

" 'Japan was not solicitous for the emigration of its people to any country.'

" The knowledge which emigrants of the worker class to America or Australia will acquire, that by the same bodily exertion in a day they can earn five shillings as against one shilling or even less in Japan, if spread among the people by letters or on the return of those who have emigrated, will endanger the national prospect of that country becoming a producing and manufacturing one. If the exclusion of the Japanese is brought about by the action of their own Government instead of by the legislation of the countries desiring to prevent their influx, a very serious international question will be solved in a satisfactory manner without arousing the national pride."

That my suggestion was not a mere chimera was shown by the conclusion of a treaty between the United States and Japan which was confirmed by the Senate of the former country in the last week of February, 1911. It was reported in the Press of the world on the 23rd of that month that President Taft had sent to Congress the text of a new trade treaty with Japan. The essential difference between this treaty and the existing agreement was the omission of all immigration restrictions, leaving to Japanese national honour the enforcement at her own ports of the restrictions then enforced at United States ports.

This treaty removed the then imminent danger of war between these nations, the result of constant friction arising from the harassing restriction of immigrants from Japan by United States officials.

It was therefore of eminent service to the British

Empire, for it is difficult to realise the embarrassing position in which the Government would have been placed had war broken out, and had it had to choose between supporting our ally Japan or our valued friend the United States.

It is true that within the past year a danger of hostilities has again arisen as a consequence of the existence of State rights, against which I have always protested as far as Australia is concerned, for California has enacted hostile laws against the holding of real estates by aliens, this statute being especially aimed at the Japanese, who are not permitted naturalisation, although Europeans are permitted to obtain it with great facility.

A treaty on these lines might with much advantage be made by the Imperial Government on behalf of the Empire generally, so drawn that it would remain in abeyance until any of the contained Dominions or States made application for it to be extended to them.

In this way there would be no interference with the policy of the autonomous States, each of which could accept or reject the power so acquired as they found it most to their individual interest.

An abuse which had become very rampant in Australia was the conduct of travelling agents who, calling at the house, often when the head of the family was away, induced incautious and ignorant persons to sign contracts which, as they frequently found to their cost, placed them under a much greater liability than they supposed. In works of no merit, which the subscribing contractor, without the slightest certainty as to the amount of the liability undertaken, had been induced to buy with the promise of having his or her portrait with a

biography included in the book, mere traps were set for unwary people.

Of the more estimable of these publications a person inspecting the sample number was often so attracted by its merit as to express a desire to purchase one or more copies. The hawker's reply would be:

"This is my 'sample' and I cannot let you have it, but if you sign an order for each of as many copies as you would like they will be sent to you."

The request was generally complied with, and the victim to his horror subsequently realised that he had signed a contract for the complete work, and that instead of being, as he supposed, liable to pay five shillings, found that the amount was in many instances ten guineas. This mistake arose from there being no direct notification of the aggregate amount to be paid.

Though exceedingly anxious to prevent the nefarious proceedings of unscrupulous men, I was equally desirous not to interfere with the legitimate trader, because many books of the most useful character could never be published unless an assured sale of a considerable number had been secured.

My proposal therefore was that no contract for the future delivery of a series of numbers of a book should be sustainable against the customer unless the agreement had been printed in black across and above a notification in red letters of a certain size, stating the total liability undertaken.

I was able to quote several cases in which suicide had been consequent on the demand being made for payment on persons of a sensitive character of sums of money quite beyond their pecuniary resources.

I moved the second reading of my Bill on July 3, 1890, and my action was heartily endorsed by the Parliament and by public opinion, and it was quickly made law in New South Wales. This measure was found to be so efficient that it was soon copied by other legislatures.

Legitimate business has not been interfered with and all have been protected from the unwelcome intrusion of persistent canvassers into their offices or homes.

When Sir George Dibbs assumed Executive Office in October, 1891, he undertook a great and laborious responsibility. He promptly dealt with the business of defence, which then attained for the first time fair efficiency in New South Wales, an efficiency which lasted until the military control of the whole of the States was united under a special department with its own Minister in the Commonwealth Government.

It was during his Ministry that a grave financial crisis occurred in Australia, causing the suspension of several of the leading banks. All of these were quickly reconstructed and are now in a stronger position than ever. Sir George was characteristically bold and never feared to undertake responsibility if it became necessary. On this occasion he issued Government notes, making them as well as those of the banks legal tender, with the guarantee of all the resources of the State behind them. All the financial institutions were in a perilous condition, but this action enabled several to weather the storm, which would otherwise have had to go under. If these had failed the position of the people would have been terrible. Great as was the service rendered to all classes of society, there were some cavillers who had the

SIR GEORGE DIBBS, K.C.M.G.

audacity to say that the action of Sir George Dibbs was taken in the interests of capitalists. No accusation could be more unjust, for if it was to the special benefit of any section it was essentially advantageous to the workers. Without it, probably every bank would have temporarily failed, and there would then have been no money available to pay wages. So imminent did I consider this danger that I privately formulated a scheme for a national pawn-shop from which the Government, having with promise of repayment taken possession of the gold in the closed banks, would have made loans on security of valuables to all people needing it. This I have reason to know would have been adopted by the Ministry, had it become necessary; when at all events the businesses meeting the food wants of the people could have been carried on.

Everything in Australia, but notably in New South Wales, is now financially sound, and the money lying in the banks for investment, as a result of a series of good seasons and immensely increased production, is greatly in excess of need. The rapidity with which confidence was restored is shown by the fact that when, within a few months of that crisis, New South Wales raised a loan in the London market of £2,500,000, it was taken up without the slightest demur, and at a high premium.

Sir George Dibbs took a leading part in bringing this about, and the Earl of Jersey, himself a leading banker, paid him a high tribute in a speech which he made on December 7, 1893, in which he referred to the great depression which the colonies had so recently gone through. Speaking of Colonial statesmen, he said:

"The name that first occurs is that of the present Premier of New South Wales, Sir George Dibbs, who last year paid a visit to England, and for whom I have the greatest regard. It is chiefly through his determination and financial courage that the Colony has been able to surmount the difficulties which at one time threatened to overwhelm her. He did not hesitate to devise and carry through plans which might have frightened a less resolute man, as they were not according to precedent. The result is his justification. It was absolutely necessary to stop the panic which was involving sound institutions. He took a bold step and to-day affairs are returning to their normal condition. The demand for gold was so continuous and excessive that in a short time the banks would have been defeated. Sir George carried a Bill to make bank-notes a first charge on bank assets, to declare bank-notes a legal tender for twelve months, and to enable the Colonial Treasurer under certain conditions to pay for notes in gold. The panic passed away, and the temporary part of the Act will expire, but not so quickly ought the debt of gratitude to Sir George pass away."

On January 17, 1894, when seconding the address in reply to the Governor's speech on the opening of Parliament at the request of a protectionist Ministry, I took the opportunity of paying a similar testimony to the Premier, and refuting the unjust charge of class favouritism which I have already alluded to.

In this speech I also referred to a Bill which had been passed by the Legislative Council, but had not been dealt with by the Assembly, dealing with the protection of person and property imperilled by

outrages committed by the criminal and semi-criminal classes.

A cry had recently been raised for very largely increasing the strength of the police force, but I did not believe it would be the best or most efficient way to afford the necessary protection. I thought a more effective plan would be to bring a strong force to any point at the critical time when protection was required. This could best be done by the institution of a system of alarms such as a fire station has, by means of which, with proper precautions against abuse of the signals, a force of say from four to six mounted men would be called to the particular spot where they might be needed by a call from a constable or householder in danger.

My suggestion was not acted on, and, as there has been a great lessening in the crimes which were then rife, the absence of some such action as I proposed has not been so hurtful as was then anticipated.

Recently, however, in the city of Detroit, U.S.A., a police system on similar lines has been established with the happiest effect on public well-being. The streets have installed in them a system of alarms, a signal from which brings in the shortest possible time a motor patrol car carrying police officers and a secure confinement cell. Directly help is needed this vehicle runs to the spot and the constables belonging to it go to the assistance of their comrade who is being hard pressed. The benefit to public security has been very great; so much so that though it is only a short time since the first car was put on duty at his own expense, by the Mayor, who happened to be a rich man, there are now many other similar ones distributed for duty in that place.

In June, 1893, I moved the second reading of a Bill which I had introduced dealing with a question of much social importance. Its title was "Illegitimacy Disability Removal Bill," and it provided that the subsequent marriage of the parents should, when certain formalities had been observed, remove the stigma of bastardy on their children born out of wedlock. I pointed out, at the time when I introduced my proposed measure, that it would assimilate the law of New South Wales to that of Scotland and of twenty-four of the United States of America, and also that, though this is not the law in England, it had been proposed by the Abbots and Bishops in the Parliament which sat in 1236. It was then rejected by the Barons, but the sole reason they gave was that they "did not wish the laws of England to be changed."

I submit that it is illogical that a child born a few hours before the marriage of its parents is illegitimate while one born the same number afterwards is legitimate with all rights and privileges. A "Peerage" (which is not, however, now published, for the book was too truthful) records an instance in which a peer only escaped a bastard's fate by the marriage of his parents some four hours before his birth. The Berkeley peerage case is a notable example of the benefit such a law would be.

The prejudices of some of the senior members were, however, aroused by what appeared to them to be my novel and subversive action, and I was then unable to succeed. The adjournment of the debate was moved and the Session ended without it being further considered. A law to the same effect has, however, since been placed on the New South Wales Statutes, but it was not done until 1900.

During the Session of 1894 a Bill was introduced which eventually became law, providing for the mining of gold and silver, or the ores of minerals containing these precious metals in large quantity, on private estates. By oversight some of the earlier alienations by the Crown to individuals did not reserve these, but a vast majority have done so. The retained right was, however, useless, as the Government had no legal power by which its employees or authorised independent persons could enter a private property and mine upon it.

It is obvious that if the Crown owns these treasures it should have the power either directly or by depute to recover them, provided that the property owner is compensated for surface damage and is protected from carelessness or malice by the persons entering or mining. Of course promiscuous prospecting must not be permitted, but only search by fitting men who have made formal application for leave to do so.

It was but natural that many estate owners protested, but they were not able to advance good and sufficient reasons in opposition. The system has now for some time been the law, but the rights under it are comparatively little used, because as a rule rich mines are opened on country of unfertile character, whilst the land chosen for settlement is of richer soil and seldom contains valuables except in some few instances where there are leads of alluvial gold.

There are many instances which show that this enactment was necessary. Its absence permitted a land owner in some cases to play " dog in the manger " by refusing himself to recover gold and silver known to be present, and declining to allow anybody else to

do so except on such exorbitant terms as prevented their recovery or yielded him a fortune as the result of his possessing land which had been alienated by the Crown for a trifling sum. Cases are within my knowledge in which ground which had cost but a pound per acre yielded the lucky possessor thousands of pounds in royalty. One at all events that I know of gave a return of over £600,000 for leave to enter and mine upon a block of land for which the owner had paid but £640

In September, 1895, a Bill to amend the constitution of the Legislative Council was introduced by the Hon. J. H. Want, the representative of the Government of Mr. (now Sir George) Reid, in that Chamber. The reason put forward (as is always the plea in a British Community) was that the Upper House had amended a measure relating to finance which had been sent to it by the Assembly, and had thereby trenched upon the privileges claimed by the representatives of the people.

There was no legal or even moral ground for such an assertion, as the powers of both Houses are governed by Statute as defined in the Act of the Imperial Parliament when granting a Constitution to New South Wales. The measure never reached its second reading, but was quietly dropped when persistence was found to be inopportune.

The situation at that time somewhat resembled that which, in England, recently led to the passing of the Veto Bill restricting the powers of the House of Lords. I spoke at some length in the debate which followed the introduction of this Bill, pointing out that the members of the Legislative Council had no personal interests to serve, and only desired to

save the country from hasty and unwise legislation, the necessity for an Upper and Lower Chamber being recognised in almost every civilised land. The Bill then under consideration would have practically destroyed the power of the Upper House. I believe (as I stated also in the Press at that time) that a limited period for the tenure of a seat was advisable. We all know that as members of the House advance in years they get beyond their work and cease to attend the sittings in the way they did when younger and more enthusiastic.

But there were provisions to the effect that under certain contingencies the Assembly might override the decision of this Council absolutely, and forward Bills to the Crown for its assent, contrary to the opinion of the Council or even in the absence of any expression of opinion from the Council. Such a provision might bring the Crown into collision with the people. The position of the Crown towards the people of this Colony is very different from the position of the Crown towards the people of Great Britain. Here the Crown represents not the Queen only, but the Queen and all the power of Great Britain as embodied in the Imperial Parliament; and if the Crown differs from the people here, it does not, as is the case in England, differ from the whole power on which the Crown and the Parliament are based, but the people here differ from the most potent power in the world. If the Crown chooses to differ from the people of this country it can coerce them. The position is vastly different from what it would be in England, where the Crown depends for its well-being on acting in consonance with the direct wishes of the people.

A case might occur in which the Representative of the Crown here thought that the Council best represented the true interests of the country, and that it was the duty of the Crown to support the Upper House against the Legislative Assembly, and possibly against the people. If the Crown then refused assent to a Bill, what would happen? Possibly very rash, very wild threats would be used by unthinking persons. But what would that matter? The Crown as representing the Queen, the Lords, the Commons, and the people of Great Britain would be able to support the decision arrived at by Her Majesty's Representative. It is quite possible that circumstances might arise under such a measure as the one before us which would justify the Imperial Government in abrogating the Constitution of this colony. It has given it to us and it can take it away. It would not do so except under very grave circumstances, but those circumstances would have been very much more likely to arise under this Bill than under the present Constitution.

I think, however, that a deadlock might be avoided by adopting the Norwegian system, under which, if there is a measure in dispute between the two Houses of Parliament, they sit together as one Chamber and discuss the measure as does an ordinary House. Finality is arrived at by the decision of the joint Chamber under those circumstances.

In 1901, on November 14, I moved the second reading of a Bill to reconstitute the Legislative Council on the lines I have suggested above. I provided that, in addition to candidates suggested by the Ministry, any registered elector might be nominated by thirty Members of the Legislature. I did this to make certain

that a man of intelligence would not have to secure the countenance of the Government to ensure nomination, but that if of such character as justly entitled him to it, he might be elected even though he did not happen to be a *persona grata* to the existing Ministers. The number of nominators required would render the selection of an unsuitable person improbable.

The Bill which I prepared for the purpose was brought to the notice of some of the Peers when a proposal to reform the Constitution of the House of Lords was first proposed. I have the gratification of knowing that it met with approval, and I was informed that it was hoped that the reform of that august body would be somewhat on the lines I proposed for the Legislative Council occupying the same relative position in the Legislature of New South Wales.

I was not successful in passing it, as my fellow members considered it the duty of the Government and not of a private member to undertake the task.

In 1895 the Ministry of Mr. Reid, who was Treasurer, and then an ardent advocate of Free Trade, decided to repeal some of the Customs duties and to replace the deficiency of revenue by the imposition of taxes on incomes and land. The first is a just and suitable impost, for the citizen, beyond his personal safety, which all have alike, derives benefit from the protection of Government in proportion to the extent of his pecuniary possessions. Taxes collected from land should, in my opinion, only be used for the needs of local Government and not as revenue of the State. When imposed and utilised for the former purpose its expenditure on the creation and improvements of roads and other public works

benefits the property owners who pay it. Each contributor knows at what rate the other is taxed and there is therefore less probability of unequal impost, for the value of all land is within general local knowledge, and were one man rated in higher proportion than his neighbour a public outcry would be raised which would lead to readjustment. This, as I have known, is not the case when the result is paid to general revenue, and the proceedings are kept more or less secret.

That this is no imaginary possibility was shown by the outcry against the conduct of the Land Tax Department in New South Wales after only a year's experience. Public dissatisfaction was so great and the instances of maladministration publicly stated so numerous and gross, that I felt it my duty to take action.

Accordingly on November 5, 1896, I moved for the appointment of a select Committee " to enquire into and report upon the method of valuation of land and the mode of assessment of the tax to be paid." I supported my proposal by a speech, in which the necessity for enquiry was so strongly set forth that the Attorney General, on behalf of the Government when speaking in opposition to my action, could only say :

" It would be establishing a very bad precedent, when the Government admit that work has not been done in the way in which it ought to have been done, to say that a Committee should be appointed, that it should go behind the scenes, and should make known the business of the Government, unless there is an imputation of dishonesty or injustice."

This was exactly what I did impute, and added

that it was necessary to ascertain whether these sins lay at the door of the Government itself or of the officers under it. It was not suggested that anyone made any personal gain, but that there was an ardent desire to make the impost as productive of revenue as possible.

The dread of exposure which was created in the Prime Minister was made manifest by his protests against the Legislative Council when it adopted my resolution by a considerable majority, and his remarkable attitude was the subject of general comment in Sydney. He was alarmed at the possibility of revelations taking place, and his fears led him to misconstrue the purpose of the Council in appointing the Committee and the course it would take in making investigation. He laid great stress upon the fact that the Commissioners and employees of the Department are sworn to secrecy. This was true so far as it applied to their knowledge of the private business of individuals, but the Act does not in any way bind them to secrecy on the mode of administration of the law, and there is a very important difference between the two things. There is no oath of secrecy which would block the Legislature from obtaining information as to the modes of administration resorted to.

I have always favoured a land tax properly applied, but, as I have said, I think it should be collected by the local authorities and applied to local works, the expenditure on which the Central Government should be relieved from. Therefore I was in favour of direct taxation, not against it. The action of the Council was not directed against the land tax as the Prime Minister implied. Their

object was to enquire into the maladministration of the department charged with the collection of the tax, the necessity for which he had admitted, and which was causing uneasiness in the public mind. Nothing would have pleased the Committee more than to find that everything had been done in good faith and with absolutely pure motives.

Parliament was prorogued within a week; nevertheless the Committee had four meetings and brought up a progress report. Though the enquiry was incomplete, the necessary changes were brought about, public feeling was satisfied, and, when the Houses met in a new Session some months later, it was unnecessary to reappoint it.

The annexation of Hawaii by the United States is an instance of the way in which colonial interests are apt to be overlooked by the British Government at home. In June, 1896, I drew attention to the proposed annexation of these islands, and the consequent effect on Australian commerce and shipping of the operation there of the coasting trade portion of the American navigation laws. I could get no satisfactory answers to my questions and protests, and, when the annexation took place in 1898, no precautions were taken to ensure the protection of British and, particularly, of Australian interests.

In 1900, when it became a Territory, the British mail steamers from Australia to San Francisco were so heavily handicapped by the coasting laws that competition with American-owned vessels became impossible, and this mail route was abandoned by British ships.

As the independence of Hawaii had been guaranteed by Great Britain, France, and the United

States, the annexation could not have taken place without the consent of the two former powers. The blame for this diplomatic blunder cannot fairly be put upon the Imperial Minister, for the necessary precautions would doubtless have been taken, had the authorities in Australia taken the little trouble necessary to put the matter before the Imperial Government.

When I learned that the islands had been acquired by America, without such a precaution having been taken, I at once pressed upon Sir William Lyne, the Prime Minister, the necessity of united action by Australia, to see if it would not be possible to obtain some concession which would free British vessels from the oppressive enactments to which they had become subject. He agreed with me as to the desirability of such proceedings, and at his wish I drafted a letter to the Prime Ministers of all the other Australian States, for it was prior to the establishment of the Commonwealth, asking their co-operation, to which favourable replies were given.

I also addressed a letter to the Earl of Jersey in England, asking that he would add to his many great services to Australia by approaching the Imperial Ministers.

Time had gone on so that the war in South Africa was in early progress when he wrote me that he had seen "a very high personage," whose identity I subsequently learnt, who had requested him to ask me not to raise such an important international question with the United States during the progress of the war, as it was but prudent to avoid controversy with that country at so critical a time.

Of course I at once gave way to the expressed wish

and ceased my efforts, with the result that, there being no one to pull the strings, the matter dropped, and I have not thought it possible since to recommence potential action, although wails from mercantile men are heard from time to time complaining of the persistent disabilities.

CHAPTER VII

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION

A Bill to Enable the Friends of Inebriates to Take Action on their Behalf—Institutions for Inebriates on Rabbit Island and Milson's Island—Apathetic Attitude of the Government—Suggestions for the Improvement of the Licensing Laws.

FOR many years my professional experience had impressed on me the social and economic peril which inebriety is to a community, and how helpless sufferers are whose lives are rendered miserable and their prosperity destroyed through the abuse of alcohol by those connected with them, though often estimable in every other respect.

As soon as I began to take action in this matter I was waited on by many people, most of whom thanked me for accepting the task. These were generally persons closely connected with inebriates, who felt that I was making an effort to enable them to protect themselves, and those dependent upon them, and possibly to restore to social sanity many otherwise irreclaimable drunkards. Some of these communications came from dipsomaniacs themselves who desired control from their vicious disease. I also received some protests from men fearful of becoming subject to action under the future act.

Being convinced of its necessity, I framed a Bill which I introduced in the Legislative Council in the

year 1897 and eventually succeeded in getting passed, to meet the need by giving power to persons interested in the well-being of the inebriate to take action. In it I strictly confined initiatory proceedings to those whose happiness or prosperity were imperilled by the conduct of the drunkard; these include any of the following members of the family—father, mother, husband or wife, brother or sister, or child of full age, with the addition of a partner in business. I did not give the power to a grandfather or grandmother from a fear that advantage might be taken of the lessened intellect in advanced age to induce them to act unwisely.

To meet cases which had not friends within these defined degrees of relationship, I provided that similar action might be taken by a more distant relative, by a doctor in professional attendance, or by a justice of the peace, but only in conjunction with an officer of the police above the rank of sergeant.

I need not detail the various clauses of the Bill which I piloted through the Upper House, and which I was fortunate enough to induce the Ministry of Sir William Lyne to adopt as a Government measure, during its course through the Legislative Assembly. It received the assent of the Crown on October 10, 1900.

As soon as the measure had become law I began to press upon the Government the necessity of giving it practical effect by the creation of an institution.

Action was delayed, however, until some time after the Ministry of Sir John See assumed office on March 27, 1901. He authorised me to select a site in conjunction with the late Mr. Critchett Walker,

C.M.G., the principal Under Secretary in the Department dealing with home affairs.

Two islands in the Hawkesbury River, forty miles from Sydney, the one of six and a half acres, the other of seventy-six acres, were chosen. The first, suitable for women, is Rabbit Island, the property of the State; the second, to be set apart for men, had been alienated but was resumed, the fair market price being paid to its owner. My reason for choosing islands was the desire to have a secure place of detention without the appearance of a prison.

A good water supply was created which adequately met the need of both places. Buildings were erected on Rabbit Island by ordinary labour. This, though necessary in the case of the women, I had determined to avoid on the men's island, where, subject to supervision, I intended the labour of the inmates to be utilised in the erection of the buildings, the improvement of the place, the creation of gardens, and the reclamation of about forty acres of shallows, which official reports showed to be capable of being added to its area.

Some £13,000 had been expended, when Sir John See's Ministry was defeated, to be succeeded, after a short interval, by that of Mr. Joseph Carruthers, in August, 1904. Under the new regime all work was stopped, and Rabbit Island remained empty, in charge of a caretaker.

I waited patiently for some time, but, finding that nothing was being done by the new Ministers to carry on this urgently needed reform, I wrote to the Chief Secretary on June 5, 1906, calling his attention to the state of affairs. I was unable to induce any action, and, until quite recently, the primary buildings

erected for the detention of women and capable of providing for the wants of seventy of this class of inebriates have remained unutilised, whilst Milson's Island has been taken for a bacteriological establishment, for which it is very suitable.

I have never for a moment considered prohibition of any practical use in the prevention of drunkenness, and therefore have used any influence which I possess to prevent its adoption. I believe in the reduction in the number of inns to such proportion in each district that legitimate trade would provide adequate remuneration to the licensee, and the provision of meeting-places in connection with public-houses without direct communication with the bars, to which workers who desired social intercourse outside their homes might resort without the accommodation so provided being paid for by the consumption of liquor, with a regulation forbidding the introduction of intoxicants to the social, residential, or restaurant parts except at meal times during fixed hours. Any person frequenting this part of the house would therefore be obliged to leave and pass to the bar by way of the street should he desire a drink. Thus mere social drinking would be greatly discouraged, and the consumption of alcohol not being a forbidden pleasure would be considerably lessened. Very strict regulations governing the sale of liquor, especially as regards partially intoxicated persons, should be framed, as also in such other directions as are found advisable. I think that it would be both practicable and advantageous to make the State the sole proprietor of hotels and inns so far as the premises and furniture are concerned, and that an adequate rent should be fixed in each case. A sale by auction

should be held from time to time, to dispose of the leases to the bidder of the highest premium, subject to his being found of fitting character by the local licensing bench.

These premiums would amount to a very considerable sum, which should create a fund to meet expenditure necessary to close licensed houses found to be in excess of needs.

I should not advise that the State should undertake any of the business of liquor sale. One change, however, I should recommend, and that is that the man and not the house should be licensed. In this way a trustworthy temporary substitute would always be available in cases where a lessee had forfeited his license by convictions for offences against the law under which it had been granted to him.

A considerable portion of the city of Sydney has been resumed by the Government and placed under the Harbour trust, which is therefore now the landlord. In this part are thirty-eight licensed houses—a number greatly in excess of requirements. I suggested to the Government that at least thirty of these should be closed as public-houses, and that the remaining six or eight should be dealt with in the way I have set forth; but at the time the authorities considered it impracticable.

Though I fully appreciate the highly philanthropic spirit which has from time to time induced clergymen and others to obtain licenses and undertake the management of public-houses, though they have no trade experience, I do not think the object in view is so well accomplished as it would be were the system I suggest brought into practice. The majority of persons desire to have alcoholic drinks as they may

feel disposed, and in many cases if good liquor is not obtainable will consume bad. This is proved by the very large quantity of methylated spirit which is drunk. The sale of this it will be impossible to curtail, as it is essential in many of the arts and trades, and, when it is sold, it will be impossible to ensure its legitimate use.

Liquor reform is a highly important problem, in the satisfactory solution of which the whole world is directly interested. I have done and shall do what little I can in this direction, but it requires united effort on practicable lines to bring about the necessary change, and not merely the isolated endeavour of individuals who, however sincere, are often mere unpractical enthusiasts.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LABOUR UNREST AND ARMY ORGANISATION

Arbitration and Conciliation Bill (1899)—The Strike of 1909—Boxing Matches—The Question of Votes for Women—Army Abuses during the South African War—Letter to a High Official on the Subject—Training Grounds for Soldiers in the Colonies—The Soldier's Dietary—Transportation of Horses by Sea—Suggestion for the Purchase of the Island of Timor from the Portuguese.

NOTHING can be of greater importance to the social structure than the discovery of some way by which the industrial unrest now so rife could be allayed. To do this the well-being of all must be considered. The employer and the employee are of course most directly interested, but the whole community is gravely concerned.

Everyone is entitled to just remuneration, but sometimes claims are made that are so manifestly unfair as to alienate public sympathy, whilst at the same time persistent refusal by employers to comply with equitable demands is equally open to condemnation. Any man or body of men may refuse to work, but every one is equally entitled to work if he thinks it to his interest, and should be enabled to follow his calling undismayed. Trade unionism has been of great value, but I submit that the claims made by the leaders that all negotiations with employers shall take place through them is unfitting in view of the large majority of workers who are not unionists.

I do not think the attempt to solve the problem by laws nominally giving power to enforce the decision of arbitrators has proved a success. For although it may be possible to coerce employers in this way, it is quite impracticable to deal with large bodies of workmen who are recalcitrant.

I was strongly of this opinion when an Arbitration and Conciliation Bill was before the Upper House of New South Wales in April, 1899.

In the course of the debate I urged that in all cases of industrial disputes the first step taken by the Government should be to demand a written statement as to the causes of the dispute from each of the parties to it. In that way a definite issue might be raised and a decision arrived at. The effect would be to bring the conditions in dispute before public opinion. This would, I am confident, have a much greater coercive effect than a vain attempt to punish by fine or imprisonment a great number of working men who unwisely refuse to obey a decision.

In the absence of some such provision, experience shows that as either side feels its case weakening, it modifies its claim, so that after the dispute has lasted a considerable time there is a remarkable difference between what is finally asked for and the original demand. This plan might not be successful in preventing strikes, but it would present the case of each party to the world in such a plain way as to be easily intelligible.

In New South Wales laws exist which were enacted to prevent the public being deprived of necessaries by an industrial dispute. As a consequence several of the leaders in the coal strike of 1909 were imprisoned for considerable periods.

Many strikes take place not because they are thought necessary or advisable by a large proportion of the workers concerned, but because a noisy minority of practised agitators coerces the majority against their interest and frequently even contrary to their desire.

In the strike of 1909, had a ballot of the strikers been taken, it would have been found that the majority would have voted against the strike had they had a chance of expressing their real opinions without danger. This strike was a positive failure, and the workers affected by it returned to the mines under less prosperous circumstances than they possessed on coming out, which they had never really desired to do. Industrial quarrels are the most important social question of the day, for not only is the well-being of the workers governed by them, but the prosperity of the whole community is involved.

There should be courts to which aggrieved workers could appeal for redress when disputes occur, even though the decision arrived at might be incapable of enforcement. Wages Boards should also be established which could fix a fair rate of remuneration in all trades for the best men, but which should also have authority to grant licenses to others, who from incapacity or advancing age are incapable of earning the standard wage, to work for less. The fixing of wages by some independent authority having full knowledge of existing conditions is rendered necessary by the unscrupulous greed of some employers, who are unwilling fairly to share the profits of production with their employees.

This is a question in which the whole world is interested, and a slight account of what has happened in Australia may have some value.

In 1900 an Industrial Arbitration Bill was introduced in the Lower Chamber to provide courts by which industrial disputes might be decided and, it was hoped, strikes avoided. It passed that House and was forwarded to the Legislative Council in due course. It was received with very mixed feelings. By some members it was strongly supported, by others as vigorously condemned. When speaking on it I expressed my opinion that it would prove neither so successful nor so harmful as was thought by its advocates and opponents respectively, and added: "I would ask Honourable Members whether it would not be wise to pay respect to this feeling, rather than give agitators and the opponents of this House an opportunity to point out that the representatives of the people have done their best to provide a means of settling disputes, whilst the Legislative Council (which they call an irresponsible body, although I do not admit it for a moment) has chosen to throw out the measure and still leave the country exposed to all the perils of industrial war."

I then proposed to pass it, but to limit its operation to a term of years, so that, if it were found to be ineffective or dangerous, it might cease to exist without the necessity of legislation, whilst, if good, it could easily be re-enacted with such amendments as the experience of working had shown to be necessary.

In the debate on the reply to the Governor's speech made on the opening of Parliament in July, 1901, I made reference to an incident which had then recently occurred, and I think my remarks are specially pertinent to the discussion that took place in England on the suppressed boxing match between Johnson and Wells, and the death in 1913 of Luther Macarthy

in a similar contest in Canada. A match had taken place at a sporting club in Sydney which resulted in the death of one of the combatants. As a consequence all the persons connected with the exhibition were arrested and charged with manslaughter. I pointed out that the recent " prize fight " (as many called it) was supervised by a sub-inspector of police, who examined the gloves, disapproving of one pair and approving of others. I suppose he watched the whole fight which resulted in the death of one of the parties. This fight took place not only with the cognisance, but with the approval and under the supervision of the police, yet eleven men were arrested and had to stand their trial for participation in the proceedings. Surely it is absurd that when the police authorise, as far as they can, a contest of this kind, they should not accept the results, whatever they may be. If the authorities permit it to occur they should accept the consequences.

The difference between boxing-gloves and bare fists is not worthy of consideration. With gloves there may be less superficial marking, but there is, I maintain, more risk to life. The blows which are most effective in producing a " knock out " are those about the region of the heart and on the point of the jaw. It is the transmitted force of the blows given at these spots and not the hardness of the hand giving it which produces the resulting effect. On the point the jaw transmits the force to the base of the skull at its articulation, and fracture there, with consequent brain injury, may follow. The striker having his knuckles protected with gloves is able to give more potent blows than with his bare hand, which would

suffer from the impact though the latter might produce greater surface injury.

Boxing as a mere spectacle is not to my taste and I have rarely been present at a match. I have, however, no sentimental objections, and certainly accept the opinion often expressed that it is a pastime the practice of which is at all events not detrimental to the national character. If the earnest protests which have recently been made resulted from the fear that a bad moral effect would be produced on the coloured races by the repeated victory of a black over white men, I have nothing to say, but I do protest against silly sentimentality if it would abolish boxing or even bare knuckle fights on account of their danger or cruelty.

In 1901 the question of granting votes to women was raised by the introduction of a Bill to give them an equal right with men to have a voice in the election of Parliamentary representatives. Though I have always considered that women are equally intelligent with the opposite sex, I feared that those who from education are perhaps best fitted to exercise the right might refrain from doing so, and that those less suited would be more likely to record their votes, so that the evils of such extension of the franchise would be increased without the counteracting influence of the good. I regarded the measure as an experiment which might prove to be advantageous, but was equally likely to prove a failure, the evil of which might be found difficult to remove by further legislation. I therefore moved an amendment (which I failed to carry) to make the proposed law apply only to the next two general elections. I said that I doubted if the majority of the women of the State

really desired to exercise the franchise, and suggested it might be possible to take a referendum on this question.

The Bill was defeated, but on being again brought forward in the following year, when I opposed it on the same grounds as before, it was carried; and women first exercised the franchise at the general election of 1904, when in the contested electorates 60.78 per cent. of those on the roll voted. At the same time 72.10 per cent of the men exercised the right.

When the Bill was being discussed, the precincts of the Chamber were crowded by its feminine supporters and I was continually questioned as to my intentions. On my expressing my views, someone said: "But what will Miss —— think? She's so calculating on your support." I could only reply: "I feel now that my duty to my country is greater than even my regard for Miss ——. Forty years ago I would have committed any villainy she asked of me," which, I am afraid, is only too true. My remark (I have since heard) was repeated to her, and I am told that she thinks it the compliment of her life.

I cannot help feeling that the conduct of the suffragettes in England during the last four years has done much to make the idea of granting them the franchise repulsive to thinking men, and that the cause they have so much at heart has been harmed by it.

In 1901, though the South African war was still in full progress, a portion of the Australian troops returned as time-expired men, some with the intention of re-engaging and returning after a brief holiday, others so sickened by their experience that they had determined not to return to South Africa on any terms

whatever. I received such circumstantial reports as to the conditions existing among British troops at the seat of war that I felt it my duty to write to a very prominent man in England, urging that the War Office should have the existing abuses brought directly under its notice.

Some short time after my letter reached London we heard by cable that some of the most glaring abuses had been dealt with; whether it were as a consequence of my letter or independently it is beyond my power to say.

The following is the text of my letter:

"Sydney,
"*February* 4, 1901.

"My dear Lord ——,

"I hope your Lordship will forgive me writing again to you so soon, but the information given me by friends who have occupied all ranks in forces sent from these Colonies to South Africa makes me feel it a duty to ask some one who like yourself is in a position to be listened to, to endeavour to arouse active determination in those in office, and not to permit the present condition of army organisation to continue. That the accounts given me are literally true there is no reason to doubt; my personal knowledge of the character of the informants permits of no question in my mind as to their accuracy.

"The absolute drunkenness of certain men in high command, as well as the continual alcoholic excess and sluggish indolence of others, is common talk. The abuse of accidental power so far as transport in the field is concerned is a very grave evil. As an instance, a captain in a column in pursuit of the enemy had two waggons, requiring a length of thirty-six yards of road each, devoted to his personal

comfort. The one was fitted as a bedroom, the other as a kitchen, with cooking stove, etc. A lieutenant of his Company naturally followed suit, but was satisfied with one waggon. A single pack-horse per man of all ranks should have been the amount of transport allowed. There are, of course, glorious exceptions to such shocking examples, but what is felt to be sufficient by these should be enforced on the others. The officers of some distinguished regiments exhibit an offensive affectation towards outsiders which in its most harmless phase must be a peril to the unit they hold rank in, and this attitude is especially unfitting among Colonists. I could enlarge much more, but the Authorities, though they might be able to get no information relating to such matters officially, could do so confidentially, and take such action as will bring about reform without publishing reasons. Confidential reports as to the character of officers have always been a part of the system of the Army, but it is probable that from being of use they have become a perfunctory custom.

"But even supposing the information I have received were so much exaggerated as not to be a true reflex of what happens, it is generally talked and generally believed in Australia. Is it not essential that any ground for such comments should be removed? The safety of the Empire demands it. Until our men went to South Africa we all had the idea that the Imperial Army was unapproachable in system, discipline, intelligence, organisation, and everything else by us poor Colonists. This was evidently the idea of the Imperial Authorities, as is shown by their reluctance at first to accept the proffered assistance from the Colonies. Now this is all changed, and if we are to judge by the published eulogies of those highest in command, the Colonial Forces are the most highly valued of any for the task

now in hand. For instance, take the highly efficient organisation and work of the Australian Medical Corps, the activity and success of the Mounted Infantry and the Bushmen, notably at Diamond Hill, Elands River, and Rustenberg.

"It says but little for the Imperial system of army organisation when the highest officers educated under that system condemn it so practically by their high appreciation of our hastily improvised forces.

"It must not be supposed that the majority of our men had had very much bush experience. A large majority of them were town residents of all ranks and callings, but they had not had all individuality ground out of them by three or four hours' barrack-yard drill a day, to be then turned out in a town to fascinate the nursemaids.

"Is it not necessary that Imperial soldiers should be trained differently, and given some knowledge of how they would have to act when in the field? Can this possibly be done in Great Britain? And could it not be done at stations in the Colonies as suggested in my paper in the *Contemporary Review* of October, 1900?

"The cablegram in all our newspapers which I enclose is, I submit, of grave importance. I have caused enquiry to be made whether it has any official source in London, but, whether or no, it is startling to find the Mother Country is so leaning on her children that it has even been suggested that the 4,000,000 of Australasia should send 10,000 more men to South Africa, and that only the same number should be raised among the 40,000,000 of the United Kingdom. The Colonies, even if willing, cannot support such a strain on their manhood, draining as it does our most efficient workers, leaving the worthless derelicts undiminished.

"The fear, too, has always been present, founded as it is upon the experience of the past, especially in

South Africa, that for immediate advantage some settlement might be consented to in that Colony which would not be final, but would leave openings for future trouble. Any such weakness will be bitterly resented here, and the Empire would not only be felt to be unworthy of the support of these communities, but the mere connection would be considered a danger, and a consequent movement for separation would set in which would lead to our independence.

"I am as Imperialistic in my ideas as ever, but under such circumstances my wishes would quickly change, and I would fan the flame to the utmost of my power, for I am but one of thousands of like determination.

"In reference to my suggestion that depôts for transport animals, material, etc., should be established in the Colonies, not requiring housing of stock in winter, I venture to think that quite independently of the direct advantage when required for war, the mere existence of such stations would be of immense advantage to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in diplomacy.

"At present, when a question of such moment as perhaps to render war necessary to protect British interests is under discussion, the mere communications have much less weight with Foreign Governments than the preliminary preparations for action by the Army Service Department. A foreign diplomatist I have no doubt often persists in his resistance of just demands by the British Government until he is convinced it means business by the despatch of agents to purchase transport animals. Such a demonstration must cost a million or two, and we are often imposed on as a consequence of the dread of a Government incurring such expense until it is actually wanted. Were there transport depôts as I suggest, cable messages sent at an early period directing mobilisation and the warning of steamers for

transport purposes would be equally, if not more, effective. Thus Great Britain would often score where now she yields, whilst her opponents would be less likely to drift into an attitude from which national sensibilities would prevent them receding. On this ground alone I think the establishment of such stations of very great advantage.

"If your Lordship has not already done so, I would ask you to read a book by Dr. Farrelly, entitled *The Settlement after the War in South Africa*. The author's exposition of the situation, and his arguments relating to it, are so cogent and so exactly portray the feeling of people in Australia, that its perusal would prove of the greatest value to the high personages who will have to deal with the business it relates to. Could your Lordship bring the book under notice, and perhaps suggest that the work might be read by some person in their intimate confidence, and the important passages marked for their personal perusal?

"The sad news of the death of Her Majesty has now reached us. All are deeply grieved, and though at such advanced age it could not be felt to be very unexpected, yet the feeling of personal bereavement, which is universally present, is phenomenal.

"Believe me to be, my dear Lord,

"Very sincerely yours,

"JNO. M. CREED."

This letter followed an article from my pen which appeared in the October number of *The Contemporary Review* of 1900. It was entitled "A Colonist's views on Army Reform." The opinions I expressed in it received considerable attention, and I was directly informed that it had been read and favourably received in the highest quarters. *The Review of Reviews* and other magazines made long extracts from

it, whilst the adverse comments were few, and generally a mere bald statement that my criticism was too drastic and my suggested reforms too numerous to be practicable, though obviously necessary.

I suggested that it was absurd to confine the training of soldiers to barrack-yard drill, which did but little to teach them duty in the field, and proposed that training grounds of large size in wild country should be secured in the various Colonies of Australia, Canada, and South Africa, to which recruits might be sent on the termination of their primary drill for field operations under war conditions. Such a course would secure that the men when on active service would have personal knowledge of the conditions under which they would fight, and give them the knowledge which would enable them to take advantage of existing circumstances. This has since been in a measure done by the acquisition of Salisbury Plain and its neighbourhood as an exercise field on a large scale, but it does not meet necessity so effectively as would similar, but much more extensive, areas in outlying possessions.

I suggested an improvement in the dietary of the men, and as an example quoted what had been done in New South Wales institutions, where, at a cost not exceeding fivepence per day, each man is provided for breakfast with a pint of tea or coffee with milk and sugar, porridge, with treacle or sugar, and bread, or a larger allowance of bread with jam or honey in lieu of porridge. For dinner a pound of beef or mutton is issued, its mode of cooking being varied. One day in each week they have Irish stew ; another day haricot ; a third, curry ; and on the remaining

four days the meat is either roasted or boiled. At each mid-day meal twelve ounces of vegetables, appropriate to the mode of cooking, are served, in addition to sufficient bread. For supper a pint of tea with sugar and milk, and bread with honey, jam, or treacle is given. That this was a better diet than then fell to the lot of the private soldier in Great Britain will not, I think, be disputed, whilst it is equally certain that its cost was much less than the inferior meals of the home barracks at that period.

I also revived a suggestion which I knew had been previously made and negatived, but which I submit was, at the time I wrote, as it is now, of high practical value. This was to establish special regiments, the recruits for which would be drawn from the more educated classes. Every such regiment should be so constituted as to be a military school, enabling any of the men who chose to do so to study and pass examinations proving them fitted for commissions. I suggested that, when such a scheme achieved fruition, it would be prudent and just to declare that, except in the Engineers and Artillery, no one should enter the commissioned ranks until he had passed through such a regiment. By this means I believe it would be practicable to create at comparatively little cost a reserve of perhaps 20,000 men qualified for officers, should it be necessary on emergency to improvise a large civilian army. Without some such method the protection of Great Britain by suddenly embodied defence forces is impracticable, for though the rank and file would be obtainable, where are the necessary officers to come from ? I also called attention to the enormous cost and comparative failure of the transport and remount animals as exhibited in the

South African war then in progress, and suggested an economic remedy by the exercise of prudent forethought.

My attention having been called to the great mortality and marked deterioration in efficiency of horses during sea transport, by an article in an Australian magazine, and also in a letter to *The Field* (London) on December 14, 1902, I pointed out the disadvantages attending the method of shipping horses, which was then, as it is still, made use of. On the authority of Mr. James Rutherford, a very highly esteemed resident of Bathurst, New South Wales, I pointed out that the placing of the horses in stalls was not only an unnecessary expense, but absolutely lessened the well-being of the animals conveyed. This gentleman, who had had very large experience in shipping stock, but notably horses, did this until involuntary experience taught him better. He wrote to me :

" In 1860 Cobb & Co. chartered the sailing ship *Hannah Moore* to carry sheep and horses to Dunedin, New Zealand. The sheep were placed below the horses on deck. About the third day out a heavy storm came on, which lasted the whole trip. All the frames were destroyed on that day very quickly and the horses were let loose and pitched about the deck. The weather being too rough to repair the damaged frames, I got some coils of rope, and having put improvised halters on the horses, managed to get all of them to the gunwales of the vessel, to which I tied them. In a short time all were secured, and, although the storm lasted more than a week, no further damage was done.

" The horses quickly adapted themselves to the

movements of the ship, as sailors do. Since that time I have never used stalls when sending horses or cattle by sea, but have only tied them by the head without partitions between them of any kind. This, in my opinion, formed on long experience, is safest and most comfortable for stock, whilst the loss is minimised."

He further gave his experience when bringing eleven high-class animals, both stallions and mares, from San Francisco to Sydney in December, 1875. The shipping agents refused at first to allow them to travel except in stalls, but eventually, on his threatening to go elsewhere, yielded, and in addition very suddenly put twenty-one horses belonging to Wilson's Circus on board at near midnight under similar conditions. "The twenty-one horses," he wrote, "were treated like my own and landed without a hair being chafed. It was a revelation to the captain and all on board. My lot came through in perfect condition and, as was remarked in the Sydney newspapers, 'as sleek as racehorses'!"

The advantage in safety would probably be so great and the pecuniary saving so large that I was not without hope that a few trials might be made by the War Office authorities to ascertain with some certainty how far Mr. Rutherford's idea is borne out by their own experience. In my article on its reform I went very fully into other matters relating to the Army of the Empire, but I will not quote further, as the trend of my paper has now been fairly indicated.

At the latter end of the year 1902 reports were current that a European nation, then having hostile feeling towards the British Empire, was anxious to obtain possession of the eastern half of the island of

Timor, which, since the earliest times of their visits to the Malayan Archipelago, has been owned by the Portuguese. Realising how dangerous the existence of a naval station by a possible enemy would be to Australia, I wrote to the then Governor of New South Wales, Admiral Sir Harry Rawson, G.C.B., on the subject. I pointed out that Delli, the existing port in the Portuguese part of the island, is only about 450 miles from Port Darwin; that in its natural condition it affords good shelter for nine months in the year during the south-east monsoon, and that fitting expenditure would make it secure during the remaining three months when the winds from the north-west prevail. It would be an especially eligible place as a naval base and health resort for a nation not having other possessions in the eastern seas, as within less than ten miles of the port the elevation is so great as to afford a temperate climate especially suitable for the sick from tropical diseases, being so cool as to admit of the very successful cultivation of European crops, fruit, and vegetables.

The Governor was so impressed by my representations that he transmitted the correspondence to the Admiralty and the Colonial Office in London. In 1912 the question again became prominent on account of the outbreak of the natives, which was only suppressed after considerable trouble and expense by the Portuguese authorities. It appeared possible that advances might again be made by the nation in question, as it might be thought an opportune time to offer to relieve its present possessors of so troublesome a colony by purchase. Fearing that the importance to Australia of any change in owners might

in the press of business at the Foreign Office be overlooked, I again called the attention of the Colonial Office to the subject, and I received the thanks of the Secretary of State for my action in doing so.

CHAPTER IX

DOMESTIC LEGISLATION AND IMPORTED LABOUR

The Intelligence of the Australian Aborigines—The Development of Tropical Australia and the Question of Coloured Labour—The Settlement of the Northern Territory—The Advantages of Black Labour—My Paper on the Subject read before the Royal Colonial Institute—Papers read at the Australasian Medical Congress (1908)—Hypnotic Suggestion in the Treatment of Inebriety—An Old Atlas, "Speculum Orbis Terræ," 1593—An Illustration of a Marsupial—Is it a Kangaroo?

I HAVE mentioned earlier an article of mine which was published in *The Nineteenth Century Review* for January, 1905, entitled "The Position of the Australian Aborigines in the scale of human intelligence." I had long formed the opinion that the accepted estimate of the inferior brain power of that race was contrary to fact, and I wished to place on record my judgment to the contrary. My experience leads me to believe that though unquestionably low in civilisation, they possess high intelligence, often of a character superior to more than one of the white races when uneducated, and with unfavourable social environment. My conclusions were fully supported by a celebrated ethnologist, a professor in that branch of science at a German University, who visited Australia to make research into the characteristics, mental and physical, of the indigenous race of that Continent. He called on me a few months

subsequent to the publication of my article and in a very lachrymose way said: "I thought I should be the first to publish the opinion I had formed of the mental power of the black race of Australia, but you have forestalled me by the publication of that paper."

Since then I have received many communications from persons who have had special opportunity of forming a correct judgment, and they fully support the views I then set forth. Since its publication further information in reference to the high intelligence of this native race has come to my knowledge. I hold the opinion that all peoples have equal mental power, but some have better surroundings, and are able to exercise it to greater advantage. I think that another primitive race usually classed with Australian aborigines as little above the brute creation have been equally maligned. I refer to the Bushmen of South Africa. Their primitive art, as shown by cave-pictures, their weapons and their folk-lore, contradict such an estimate. The inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, who have been classed, as regards intelligence, with the other two, are in all probability the victims of an equally false estimate, but I am not in possession of sufficient information to judge by.

A question of the highest moment to the British Empire is the development of Tropical Australia, and its settlement by white inhabitants under such conditions that there will not be race deterioration. An unreasoning demand for a "White Australia" has been so persistent that fully a third of the Continent remains unproductive. Due consideration has not been given to the different conditions under which outdoor white labour would have to be carried

ROAD SCENE ON BROWN MOUNTAIN *EN ROUTE* TO BEGA, N.S.W.

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on in the *intra-tropical* as compared with the *extra-tropical* regions.

The objection of the workers to the competition of natives in their field of employment in the temperate parts is justifiable, as I pointed out in an article entitled "A Rational White Australia," which appeared in *The Sydney Daily Telegraph* of July 20, 1905, having been published in an abbreviated form by *The Times* (London) on June 13 previously. It was also reprinted in several other leading Australian newspapers about the same time. In it I said:

"The indiscriminating effort of a portion of the electors of Australia to exclude all coloured races is fraught with peril to the well-being of every class. I submit it will prove especially detrimental to those earning subsistence by manual labour. It therefore cannot be out of place to attempt to formulate ideas, which, if given practical effect, will render possible the establishment of primarily productive industries that will vastly increase the general wealth of the community, while at the same time largely carrying out the wishes of those who believe their source of livelihood is endangered by the competition of people content to work for much less wages than themselves.

In addition to the fear that the unrestrained introduction of the inferior races would reduce general wages, is the very justifiable apprehension that a race problem may be created by the permanent settlement and increase of aliens of this class in the continent. No far-seeing statesman could consent to any legislation which would tend to create such a danger in Australia for our descendants. I therefore submit that a scheme which would allow of the employment of coloured people, whose cheaper labour would increase production and not lessen the wages of the white worker or render possible the

a scanty loin cloth, which if it gets wet during the frequent showers can be easily changed and dried.

With a railway available, the prime cost of which has been so low as to permit of profitable working on small freight charges, the conveyance of timber, mining props, coal, machinery, etc., so heavy and bulky as not to be conveyable by teams, would be possible, but they will always be unprocurable without it. By its aid the necessaries and comforts of life for the workers will be as cheaply and easily supplied as in the other parts of the States. Reasonable estimates have been made that, if a railway working profitably at small freight charges were built, employment for 200,000 to 250,000 white workers would quickly be created in districts which will otherwise remain undeveloped for all time, or until some foreign power driven by the increase of its population seizes them by force of arms for the use of its superfluous people. Australia, if it persists in rendering the normal increase of its population and resources difficult or impossible, will be unable to resist such aggression, but will be brought face to face with dangers of which at present there is very little conception.

In a country in which every man and woman has a vote in the election of Parliament, and therefore a voice in the policy of Government, it is impossible to deal with great questions as in older nations, where the masses have comparatively little influence in legislation, and where the governing classes are in a position to do what they believe to be best, heedless of the immediate result of their action on popular feeling, confident that the result will in time justify their action. Even prejudices manifestly wrong must be considered, and not rashly opposed, but an attempt made so to guide them as to prevent the evils which the more far-seeing realise as

a probable result. It is not unreasonable that a worker who is earning from seven to ten shillings for a day's labour should protest against, and if in his power prevent, the indiscriminate introduction of coloured labourers, not only willing but glad to work alongside him for one or two shillings. Therefore it is only just that no bare assertion should be made that cheap labour in the hot parts is essential to the continued prosperity of Australia, but that facts and arguments should be advanced which will place plainly before the white worker the advantages which would accrue to his class in common with all others, and the precautions which will be taken to prevent the creation of unwelcome rivalry to himself and his fellows.

The legitimate desire of the Labour Party in Australia to prevent any lessening of the wages of the white labourer and artisan, and to preserve and even increase his standard of domestic comfort, will, I submit, be much more probably defeated by its present attempt (certainly destined to ultimate failure) blindly to exclude inferior races from the tropical parts, than by a discriminating policy permitting their employment under such conditions as will foster enterprise, increase production, and consequently create more employment for the whites.

No danger to white interests could arise if in the hotter parts of the Continent coloured labour were permitted under the conditions that the men imported should be subject to a standard contract defining their occupation, fixing their remuneration, and compelling their return to their own country on the termination of their engagement, so that even if they desired to re-engage for another term, the new contract would have again to be made with them at their place of origin. In this way there could not be any reason for the white worker to fear rivalry in his calling, nor could there be any danger of an

inferior alien population growing up in our midst.

At present Australia depends for its existence on the productions of its temperate parts, with such additions of a like character as can be created under the handicap of a tropical climate. Unless a modification of the law is made in relation to North Australia we shall have to continue to depend on those industries, and more than a third, which could be made the more profitably productive portion of the Continent, will remain unexploited. Even the sugar and pearl-shelling industries will die out.

As showing how little the Northern Territory of Australia has been utilised, a return furnished to the Commonwealth Government in the year 1910, shortly before the transfer to it of this part by the Government of South Australia, states that of the 315,116,000 acres comprising the territory, 474,194 acres have been sold. Apart from a few township allotments all the land disposed of is within a radius of fifty miles of Port Darwin, the greater portion being in proximity to the Darwin-Pine Creek railway, and the whole within twenty-five miles of it. The total extent of land alienated or leased is about 99,304, 247 acres, but much of this land cannot be regarded as in any sense occupied.

How slow the progress of settlement has been is made manifest by the fact that, though it was placed under the control of South Australia on July 6, 1863, on its transfer to the Commonwealth on January 1, 1911, it still contained a European population, including the Government and the Telegraph Cable officials, of only 1,274, Chinese 1,475, Japanese 133, and others 132, a total after nearly fifty years of 3,014.

It has been claimed that work on plantations can be done by white men, but, after having personally experienced the climate during twelve months' stay

there, I unhesitatingly assert that any attempt to develop tropical Australia in such a way will always be a failure. The men, if single, would have to cook their own food on returning at night worn out by work, or pay conjointly a cook and house-servant, whose rate of wages would be prohibitory. In either case the food preparation would be so inferior as quickly to produce troubles in digestion which in a very short time would render such victims unfit for work and compel departure to ensure recovery. If married, their wives would either be compelled to fulfil domestic duties which in similar climates it is found necessary to have carried out by numerous servants, or would degenerate into slatterns, to the destruction of their own and their husbands' comfort and happiness. Under such circumstances what would their children be like ? It is not probable, if even possible, that they could grow up to be industrious or useful. What will be the prospect of a country depending for development on such people ? The women would be mere slaves, the children savages.

Were black labour permitted, the white men would occupy positions with which they would be well able to cope as overseers, mechanics, deep level miners, clerks, etc. They should be allowed also to employ black house-servants, whom, under the improved positions the whites would be in, they could well afford to pay. In this way the wife would be saved from all exhausting labour, yet be able to ensure to the husband, on his return from work, the comfort and food necessary for his health and efficiency. A white man can do his duty during a hot day in the open air if he has recuperative treatment on its termination. Such a man requires a tepid bath, clean clothes, cooled or iced drinks, and well cooked and properly served meals. No white woman, or even women, could ensure this, so easily accomplished by black servants.

When we contemplate the hardships and deprivations which settlers in the further interior of even the temperate Southern States of Australia have to submit to, when first taking possession of their holdings, we can realise how much worse things would be in the tropics. In the former there is every prospect that their industry will in a comparatively short time set up such improved conditions as will ensure domestic comfort and lasting prosperity. Such prospects in the tropics without black labour would be infinitesimal. With indentured black labour there will be every likelihood of the settlement of such numbers of whites as will secure that part of Australia to our race; without it, it is impossible accurately to foresee the prospect of our retaining it.

Some ardent, but, I submit, imprudent advocates of immigration to tropical Australia urge its settlement by large numbers of Southern Europeans. I oppose any such scheme, as I fear the effect would be to create a people within our borders who would grow into a possibly hostile nation, having its own customs, language, and manners, even if nominally under our laws. I would welcome all white peoples subject to the condition that they shall be intermingled with our own race only in such proportion as will ensure their adopting our customs and social life. In this way they will become one with ourselves and possibly add a good leaven to society. The United States has already begun to dread the possible peril of a disproportionate influx of the inferior Latin Races. Australia would be in greater danger were large numbers to make their way to it."

I reiterate my conviction that the prosperity and success of Australia will be advanced by the utilisation of properly controlled black labour, and that no class will benefit more directly by such

policy than the white worker in the southern as well as the tropical States.

At a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on May 14, 1912, the Duke of Marlborough presiding, I read a paper entitled "The Settlement by 'Whites' of Tropical Australia."* I emphasised how little likely it was that a prosperous and vigorous population could be planted there if the field labour of our own race was to be depended on for the production of tropical produce, if for no other reason than the impracticability of the women bearing healthy children whilst providing by their own exertion for the household needs of themselves, their offspring, their husbands, and other male relatives living in the home.

Not with much hope of carrying it, but that I might invite public notice to the hardships which are imposed on persons of small means who have a number of individuals dependent on them for support, I moved a resolution in 1906 in the following terms: "That it is to the interest of the State that the population of white British subjects in it should increase; it therefore will be a national advantage so to adjust taxation as to provide that a man or woman, a subject of the King, should have his or her contribution to the revenue lessened in like ratio as the offspring dependent upon him or her increase in number." I did not succeed in carrying the resolution, but at all events I placed on record the fact that I had attempted to remedy an injustice under which the most worthy people suffer, and one

* It appeared in the July number of that year in *United Empire*, the journal of the Institute, with a report of the subsequent discussion.

which it is to the direct interest of a country to mitigate.

It may here be not unfitting that I should put forward an opinion which may appear to many to be a paradox. I believe that the success of Pan-Germanism, thought to be a possible peril to the rest of the world, will really be an aid to safety. At present the aggressive attitude of the Teutonic Empire is consequent on the overwhelming military power of the Northern States, notably of Prussia. The Southern States are now powerless against it, but were the Austrian-Germanic peoples added to them their potency would be so increased that they would be in a position to resist many injustices under which they now think they suffer. Friction would so increase that either war between or separation of the two sections might quickly ensue. A division more or less complete would be created and the aggressive power of the Empire as it now exists destroyed, to the gain of the rest of the globe. Consequently I anticipate without much dread the alteration of frontiers apparently inevitable on a change in the occupant of the Austrian throne.

At a session of the Australasian Medical Congress held in Melbourne in October, 1908, I read five papers on " Diet in Diabetes," " Hypnotic Suggestion as a Therapeutic Agent," " The Treatment and Control of Inebriates," " The use of oil of yellow sandal wood in Asthma and Bronchial Catarrh," and a method of treating burns so as to lessen the risk of subsequent scarring.

My proposals were all of a novel character. Possibly the one of most general interest is that relating to Diabetes. After a considerable series of

successful results in patients in whose cases I had made such an important departure from the accepted axiom, that abstinence from starch and sugar was essential, as to encourage them in following their ordinary diet, I adopted the same course when I found I was subject to the disease, with the result that I did not suffer from the usual loss of vitality, and lost all trace of sugar excretion in seven weeks from the time of its first discovery, notwithstanding I was taking as much or even more sugar and starch in my food than I had ever done. When first considering the matter I had from the evidence available arrived at the conclusion that the excretion of sugar is the result of deficient nerve force, and the condition of semi-starvation consequent on the customary special diet, so far from being beneficial, is a manifest evil.

Since acting on this conclusion I have had almost invariable success in the treatment of this (as is generally accepted) incurable disease, both in Australia and England. In one instance a man whose death within a week or two was considered inevitable, he being so weak as to be unable to stand without support, under my novel treatment within eight weeks was riding a bicycle, and within a year was so perfectly recovered as to have ventured on marriage.

The marvellous effect attending the use of suggestion either with or without any induced hypnotic state is so marked that it is difficult to understand the reluctance generally exhibited to its use. I have used it for more than a quarter of a century, and as years go by I am more and more convinced of its beneficial potency and freedom from harm.

As to the treatment and control of inebriates, it is

unnecessary to repeat what I have already said in this book with regard to it. In acute alcoholism the curative method I have adopted is rapidly successful. In twenty-four hours generally, and forty-eight hours always, the subject will eat and sleep well, having no desire for drink. I have treated a few persons in England with the same success as in Australia, but have been disappointed in not being able to demonstrate its potency for good by its use in a large number of cases. I have made some effort to arrange for its use with the authorities of some workhouse infirmary to which inebriates are sent when suffering from delirium tremens, but without success. I am not at present practising, but merely desire to work miracles for amusement.

When such a subject is cured of the acute attack, nothing but the moral irresponsibility of this class of persons will give rise to their drinking anew. All desire for alcohol is gone, only to be renewed on their again taking to liquor. This condition is attained in a very few days, a week at the longest. The cures for inebriety so loudly vaunted by asserted philanthropists, who, however, advertise in the Press extensively and expensively, compel them to confess that recovery takes very much longer than this time under their use. I regret that I have failed in inducing consideration and trial of my method by persons in authority for the reform of drunkards, for the consequent relief of their dependents is eminently of service to the state and society.

The novel treatment to avoid the disfigurement which so often follows the recovery from burns has been wonderfully successful. I first used it in the case of a beautiful girl who, having been burnt by the

explosion of a spirit lamp, had the whole surface of her face and bust destroyed. I only saw her after profuse suppuration had set in. I asked the then principal officer of New Zealand, where she was living at the time of the Congress, to examine her, and he reported that no sign of the extensive injuries was apparent. An additional advantage is that the recurrent pain of renewed dressings is avoided.

In 1910, when examining, as a trustee of the Public Library of New South Wales, some of the more interesting volumes in the magnificent collection of books bequeathed to New South Wales by the late David Mitchell, of Sydney, which relate to Australasia, I found an atlas entitled "Speculum Orbis Terræ," published by the widow and heirs of Gerard de Jode at Antwerp in 1593 and edited by his son Cornelius. What especially attracted my attention was the title-page, an engraving showing much skill. It had four emblematic animals at its respective corners, a horse for Europe, a camel for Asia, a lion for Africa and a hypothetical beast, which could never have existed, perhaps for America, or, as I venture to presume, the rest of the world. It has a body like a goat with a short tail, four legs of equal length terminated by clawed feet, an earless head somewhat resembling a deer's, and between the forelegs a pouch showing the heads and necks of two young projecting from it.

This figure induced me to look for a map which might have some reference to the Australian continent. This I found in a chart of the Southern Hemisphere which had delineated on it a mass of land surrounding the South Pole marked "Terra Australis Incognita." On its northern coast, facing the

Malay Archipelago, was a part on which were charted two rivers having the names of R. San Augustin and R. Bol. This part is directly south of an island then and still called Gilolo. The part thus shown would contain the rivers now known as the Victoria and Ord on either side of the West Australian boundary.

The atlas was a second edition of the first, published in 1573. The earlier one has an entirely different title-page, with no delineation of a marsupial or definite record of an Australian coast, but contains all the errors of the older cartographers, such as placing an island designated Java Minor much to the eastward of the land containing the rivers set down in the later one. In that of 1593 the position of Java Major is approximately correct and it is still called "Java." The islands Sumatra and Timor are also relatively rightly placed, whilst Java Minor, now unidentifiable, is put to the immediate south of Java Major.

It appears to me that a not impossible explanation of the illustration might be that it was drawn by the artist from a description given by an unskilled and inaccurate observer, who had visited the Australian coast as delineated and had seen a kangaroo.

It is true that geographical authorities, to whom I have submitted the question, describe Cornelius de Jode as a copyist, but if so it is strange that his maps should be more in accord with present geographical knowledge than those of other draughtsmen even of a later date. They also raise the question as to whether the animal depicted was not based on the American opossum (Didelphys Marsupialis) which was known in the middle of the sixteenth century and described by the geographer Peter Martyr Anglerius. This is not impossible, but it seems

TITLE-PAGE OF DE JODE'S ATLAS, 1593

MAP SHOWING A PORTION OF AUSTRALIA

strange that a beast about as large as a cat, of arboreal habits, should be the foundation of a hypothetical beast of a size somewhat relative to a horse or camel, and much the same as that of a lion. It would seem to be more probable that it was based on incorrect knowledge of a large kangaroo, an animal much nearer the depicted bulk.

All geographical problems of the sixteenth century must of necessity be considered on insufficient and often defective evidence, and the most that can be hoped for is that enough probability characterises the suggested theory to make a discussion interesting. The depiction of a large marsupial at so early a period should be of interest to bibliophiles even if it is of little moment to geographers, of whom I do not venture to consider myself one.

That Australia was visited by Europeans during the sixteenth century, perhaps involuntarily, is proved by the discovery in 1853 near Gladstone on the east coast of Queensland of a brass cannon bearing the inscription "Santa Barbara 1596," also by indications of an attempt at settlement near by.

I made search at the British Museum, with the courteous assistance of Mr. De Villiers, the officer in charge of maps, but could find nothing beyond what I had learned in Sydney, except a copy of the first edition of 1573. That of 1593 preserved there is imperfect, being without the original title-page. This has been replaced by a photograph.

CHAPTER X

THE ROMANCE OF MINING IN AUSTRALIA

Alluvial Gold Mining—Its Successes and Disappointments —Amazing Profits—History of the Broken Hill Mine— The Hill End Gold Field—Hawkin's Hill—Mrs. Beard's Investment—First Gold Found in Hargraves—A "Hatter's" Life—The Gympie Gold Fields—Phœnix Mine—Mount Morgan—Copper Interests in N.S.W.— Discovery of Tin on Vegetable Creek—The Future of Mining—Lola Montes and the Sheriff's Officer—An Embarrassing Situation—A Callous Adventuress.

THE mineral resources of Australia are marvellous in their potentiality, and for the judicious investment of capital the continent presents a field which is unrivalled throughout the world. The numerous "good shows" are, in fact, rather a handicap than otherwise; for, as every lode varies in value as it is opened up, when, after some work has been done, one of them fails to realise its early prospects, the claim is often abandoned for some other spot, and the work done on the first lode is wasted. The same thing may happen again and again; consequently labour which, concentrated on one spot, might achieve success, is frittered away uselessly.

It has often chanced in shallow sinking, alluvial gold mining, that a man, with or without a mate, has sunk a hole some feet in depth, but not finding wash dirt as soon as he expected, has given it up and

started to look for some other place with what appeared to be a better prospect, only to rush back and peg out another claim near the first hole, on learning that some other miner had bottomed the original shaft and discovered rich gold in it. In some cases within my knowledge, the further sinking of a few feet, or even a few inches, has disclosed the wealth which the first party had abandoned. In shallow alluvial mining luck is everything, and some fortunate men with no more, or even less, skill than others have repeatedly " struck it rich," whilst the unlucky ones, though equally persevering, never get a " colour."

As a case in point, I may give that of a patient of my own who, having sown his wheat, was harrowing it in. The work disclosed two nuggets of pure gold weighing in the aggregate a little over nine ounces. Though careful search was made, no further discovery of the precious metal was made in his field, but his grain return from it was excellent. Such finds occur from time to time, for we read in the papers that some lucky passer-by has, perhaps after heavy rain, seen and picked up from a mullock heap near an old claim a nugget worth possibly hundreds of pounds.

Unless the investor has special knowledge and experience at his command, either in himself or in trustworthy advisers, he will be wise to avoid this field of speculation, unless he goes into it as into any other lottery. He should risk only such money as he knows he can afford to lose without anxiety, regarding it more or less as lost, but with a possible chance of seeing it back vastly increased. When casual mining investment is indulged in in this way

it is a harmless excitement, which gives a chance of fortune not likely to be afforded otherwise.

It is probable that there is not much difference between the aggregate of the comparatively small sums invested by the total number of speculators of this kind, and the profits made by them. Of many investors, a few get enormous rewards in return for their expenditure; but the majority lose all they put in, and this happens over and over again. Almost everyone in Australia has a "flutter" in mining from time to time, and I have personally known some who have made fortunes by doing so.

Perhaps the most remarkable case I ever knew was that of a gentleman of large mining experience, who joined a club of which I was a member. He was introduced to me, and, after a little chat, he hazarded the enquiry: "May I ask are you the son of Dr. Creed of the Legislative Council?" Appreciating the humour of the situation, I replied: "No, I am not, but I know him intimately and have a very great respect for him." I was afterwards flattered by hearing that, when it was explained to him that I myself was the Dr. Creed of the Legislative Council, his comment was: "Well, I have read what he has written, said, and done, and did not think so young a man could have accomplished so much." This gentleman is now dead, but in his later life he was exceedingly unfortunate in his mining ventures, so much so that at his sudden death his estate was found to be insolvent. Luckily for his surviving relatives, in June, 1893, he had joined a prospecting syndicate of fifteen persons, ten of whom subscribed £15 each, whilst the remaining five got each a fifteenth interest for services to be rendered. Within a few years the

claims secured by this party in West Australia had so increased in value that the syndicate before dissolution on October 2, 1899, had received £1,500,000 in cash and £9,000,000 in shares, the properties being then quoted in the share market at £30,000,000. The official assignee, whose duty it was to realise my friend's estate, told me that, though as in duty bound he endeavoured to dispose of the assets as quickly as possible, the worth of his syndicate share had increased so rapidly in value that it cleared all liabilities and left his family very wealthy indeed. Another gentleman whom I knew was also an original shareholder, but on being offered £200 for his share a few weeks after the formation of the company he sold it.

The early history of Broken Hill is a demonstration that "fact is stranger than fiction." Its mineral wealth long remained unsuspected, until "Charlie" Rasp, a boundary rider on the Mount Gibbs sheep station in which it was discovered, induced seven of his co-workers, from the manager to the mail boy, to subscribe £70 each and to secure the mining rights. For a long time opinion fluctuated as to the value of Broken Hill, and the vicissitudes of its early history are remarkable. Astonishing but well-authenticated tales are told of them. It is said that on one occasion a possessor of an original share thought so little of the prospect that, wishing to tip a servant at an hotel, he said: "Here is a syndicate share in a mining venture; will you have it or a sovereign?" The coin was chosen and the share refused. The latter ultimately became worth more than £2,000,000. In another instance a man holding part of such a share owed his doctor a large

sum for attendance on his family. As he had no money to pay him, he offered the doctor his mine interest. Half protesting, the doctor accepted it, with the result that when I met him in 1887 he was on the point of leaving for Europe, the possessor of a very large fortune which was the outcome of the transaction.

Many members of the original Broken Hill syndicate have continued to hold a large proportion of their respective interests through all fluctuations, and they are in consequence extremely wealthy. One who, when very young, contributed his savings from wages, about £70, has received in return very nearly £1,500,000 ; he has been so generous to many less fortunate friends that I have never heard a single expression of jealousy of him for his good luck.

Another gentleman, whom I knew well, was sent into the district to fill a minor Government appointment at a time when the wealth of " the Hill " was not fully realised. By dint of hard saving he was able to purchase an original share for £145, half of which he offered on the same terms to the Minister who had given him the appointment, who declined it. From time to time he disposed of small portions of his interest as values advanced, yet he ultimately received for that which he retained more than half a million sterling. When he became rich he remembered all his old friends of former days, and gave a farm to one, a small station to another, and helped many in the way best suited to their respective circumstances. In another case a professional man arranged to secure a comparatively large interest, jointly with a friend, for £95. The latter, however, either could not or would not complete, so that the

former had to carry the whole himself, with the result that he acquired a fortune which ran into hundreds of thousands.

I am only relating instances of which I have had personal knowledge, but it is probable that there are other equally remarkable cases in connection with this wonderful silver field of which I have not heard, and I may here quote from that most interesting book, *The Mineral Resources of New South Wales*, by Mr. Edward F. Pittman, Under Secretary for Mines and Chief Government Geologist for that State. Writing of Broken Hill he says: "The sinking of Rasp's shaft was proceeded with for a time, but the results were discouraging. The site for the shaft happened to have been selected on one of the poorest portions of the lode, and the ore for a considerable time only yielded about ten or twelve ounces of silver per ton. The shares were at a discount, and there were many offers to sell them at prices which in the light of subsequent developments appear ridiculous. One gentleman bought three fourteenth shares for £320. For the first of these he paid £100 and for the other two £110 each. He sold one of the shares for what it had cost him and another for £200, retaining the third share. About a year later this share was worth £30,000, and within six years its market value, with dividends and bonus added, was about £1,250,000.

"But the cheapest sale of all was that of two of the original one-seventh shares, which were disposed of for less than £100 each, and which were afterwards worth £2,500,000 each."

This author gives a very full and interesting history of the property, both in its mineralogical and

financial aspects, and anyone who wishes for a more detailed account may get it in his book.*

The good fortune which awaited the claimholders at the Hill End gold-field, in 1872, was remarkable. For months the claims, which were on a quartz reef, had been perseveringly worked without payable stone being obtained, and the miners were in many instances at the limit of their resources and in daily fear of having to abandon their holdings from lack of money to buy food, when, in an instant, all was changed by the exposure, after a powder shot, of very rich gold at the bottom of the shaft of one of the claims held by four men. One of the shareholders at the time the rich specimens were secured was considering whether he would dispose of his quarter interest for £50. Fortunately for him the discovery was made before he had decided to complete the sale, and instead of £50 he received nearly £40,000.

The claims on either side of this one soon proved equally good, and upwards of thirteen tons of the precious metal were obtained from 1,100 feet of the lode. The largest mine had only 120 feet of the reef, and the smallest but seventeen feet, the others having varying lengths between these measurements, two of the richest being Kroman's, 120 feet, and Beyers and Holderman's, 90 feet. Almost all these claims were floated into Limited Liability Companies, with capitals of about £100,000 to £120,000 each, to provide the purchase money paid to the holders. The two mentioned above each paid their capital twice over in dividends in a very few months. Kroman's produced the most gold, but Beyers and Holderman's yielded it in the smallest

* Published in 1900 by the N.S.W. Government printer.

bulk of ore. In one day the latter raised a single lump, the value of which was £12,000, besides a great deal more in smaller pieces. All this gold was contained in a chute which ran more or less horizontally through all the rich claims at about 200 feet from the surface. After it was worked out the old experience of almost barren stone recurred, and most of the claims were abandoned.

It is generally believed that far more gold than has hitherto been got still remains in Hawkin's Hill, but it requires time, money, and perseverance to get it. Work is going on with more favourable prospects than were the lot of the old venturers in their earlier operations, and everyone is sanguine that the old gold returns will be equalled in the future from another rich streak.

Nearly all the early claimholders were poor men; some, indeed, had so little capital that they were obliged to take partners, who, in return for half their interest, paid them half-wages and other expenses of working. This is a very usual custom during the early stages of a mine likely to yield precious metals, and in the Western United States it is known as "taking a grub stake." Mrs. Beard, a local storekeeper, did this in a number of instances, believing she would be amply repaid when returns came in. She carried her speculation so far that her wholesale suppliers threatened that they would no longer give her credit unless she decreased the amount which she gave to her working miner customers. Her reply was a curt refusal to yield to their pressure, with the result that in a few months she left the district, having received £250,000 from her numerous interests. It is probable that by her generosity and speculative pluck she did

more than any other individual to bring about the phenomenal success of this particular field.

Notwithstanding the large fortunes acquired by these workers, few lived long to enjoy them; nor have many even of their descendants retained much of this rapidly acquired wealth.

It was only about twenty miles from these rich claims described above that the first large mass of gold was discovered in Australia, near what is now the township of Hargraves. On July 18, 1851, an aboriginal shepherd, whose curiosity had been excited by so much talk about gold, on being shown a specimen, said to his employer, Dr. W. J. Kerr, of Wallawa, that he knew where there was a great block of it, and that he used to sit on it every day whilst he had his dinner. He offered to show it to his master, who, on arriving at the place, found on the surface three blocks of auriferous quartz, from which 160 pounds weight of gold was obtained. The doctor retained about three pounds weight as a specimen, which on his death passed into the possession of his nephew, the Honourable W. H. Suttor, M.L.C., who showed it to me a few years ago. Many hundred thousand ounces of the precious metal have since been found in the immediate neighbourhood; but, strange to say, I am told that though eager search was made, little more was got from the exact spot on which the first enormous lump was located.

The nearest approach to a life of Arcadian simplicity is that of a "hatter," a solitary miner, or fossicker, who lingers on in one of those old localities, having his comfortable hut with a fruitful garden, and earning sufficient for his needs by wandering about looking for some overlooked and unworked corner

near an early rich claim. He not only provides for the wants of himself, and possibly of a family, but has the continuous joy and excitement of knowing that at any time he may strike a rich patch. It is more to mining prospectors than to any other class that the proverb, "Hope on, hope ever" really applies; as also, "There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip."

One of the earlier gold-mining fields in Queensland was Gympie. In 1867 Mr. James Nash, when travelling on foot, discovered signs which induced him to search the surface of the ground near his encampment. Getting good prospects, he went to Brisbane to secure mining rights and provisions. On returning in August of the same year, he secured on the ground where the Town Hall now stands, seventy-five ounces of gold in six days. Mr. Thomas J. Cox, who was a bookseller, and afterwards a resident in the town of Gympie, relates that he has more than once seen a pound weight of gold secured from a single barrow load of wash dirt. In the year 1868-9 quartz reefs were opened from which the North Lady Mary mine crushed seventy-five ounces of pure gold to the ton of stone.

In 1870 a Mr. W. Couldney received every month, during a considerable period, his own weight (about ten stone) in gold, which represented his interests in four different mines. In 1884 the Ellen Harkins crushed 470 tons at one time for a yield of 10,944 ounces, about one-third of a ton of smelted gold. From the South Smithfield shaft of the Phœnix Mine, crushings at various times were made of a ton each, the yield from each of which was 1,000 ounces of pure gold, some of it being sold for £4 2*s*. 6*d*. the ounce. This field is still prospering, but is only

worked by companies possessing large capital, by means of shafts at a depth not infrequently of some thousands of feet. The wealth obtained has been the result of a chance visit paid to the spot by an observant man. Sooner or later the possibilities of this field would no doubt have been discovered; but it might have remained undeveloped for years, like many other equally rich places in Australia which unquestionably still await exploration.

Another wonderful story is that of the world-famed Mount Morgan in mid-Queensland. Part of the ground adjoining the Mount Morgan mine was taken up in 1864 as a grazing farm, but no prospector ever discovered the fabulous wealth that lay so close to it until the brothers Edwin, Thomas, and Frederick Morgan prospected the summit, in July, 1882. They knocked some pieces off some black boulders which were lying about, crushed some of them on a shovel, and, on panning it off, discovered gold in large quantities. The Morgans secured as large an area as the law allowed, and continued their prospecting. They gave a specimen to Mr. T. S. Hall, Manager of the Queensland National Bank at Rockhampton, who had it assayed, and shortly afterwards, with Mr. W. K. D'Arcy, accompanied the brothers to the ground. Arrangements were made by which the Morgans disposed of half the property to Messrs. Hall, D'Arcy and Pattison. By this agreement the preliminary capital was provided for the early development of the mine. The Morgans shortly afterwards sold their portion to their partners, and others, for a very large sum. In May, 1886, it was thought prudent to turn the partnership, which then consisted of Messrs. William Knox D'Arcy, Thomas Skarratt Hall,

William Pattison, John Ferguson, Walter Russell Hall, Charles Carlton Skarratt, Alexander William Robertson, and John Wagner, into a limited liability company of a million shares, paid up to 17*s.* 6*d.*, to be issued to them in payment for their property.

The recovery of the gold was a difficult chemical problem, for the particles were so finely divided, and so coated with other matter, that ordinary processes were found useless. Eventually success was attained by a chlorination process, but before this was effected large sums had been expended in experimental enquiry. The great cost was furnished by the mine itself, which has been a marvellously successful example of scientific management.

In 1887 and 1888 men went mad over "Mount Morgan," for the discoveries in the mine were extraordinarily rich, and appeared likely to increase in value as development progressed. Shares rose rapidly in value, until the price in the market reached £17. Buyers at that quotation were confident that they would go to £20, and competed eagerly, even directors buying at the price. They eventually reached £17 6*s.* In July, 1888, the crash came. Hundreds were ruined, for shares dropped to their real value, and many men found that they had embarrassed themselves for years to come.

One amusing incident is related in connection with one of the early proprietors of Mount Morgan, who was able when it was still merely a partnership to buy in at a comparatively small sum. On returning home one day he confided to his wife that, having the opportunity of buying into a good mine, he had mortgaged the house and furniture in order to do so. His better half was furious and chased him off the

place with a broom; it is even said that he dared not show up again for some days. Eventually, however, he was forgiven, when it was found that he had realised more than a million of money by his venture. This mine, wonderfully successful as it has been, and still is, has probably destroyed the happiness of more people than it has benefited. At its present stage it is more of a copper than a gold mine, for at its lowest depths the former metal has been produced in such quantity as to be a most important asset.

It must not be taken for granted that the career of Mount Morgan in the early phases of its development was one of continuous good fortune. The difficulty of treating its ores proved at first a troublesome problem. Questions of title were also raised, which led to vexatious litigation. Doubts were cast on the fulfilment of the mining conditions under which important portions were held; and attempts to prove that the leases had become liable to forfeiture were made by men of the highest legal knowledge, having plenty of money behind them. However, all turned out well in the end, and the property is now regarded as safe for ordinary investment, on terms which yield a little above the current interest of banks and Government securities.

Large fortunes have been made by the early holders of copper interests in New South Wales, but they have not been of the sensational character of those connected with gold and silver mines. At Cobar the copper mines began by being very successful, but later on much difficulty arose from the increased cost of fuel. At first wood was used; but the excessive demand for this quickly denuded the neighbourhood of trees. The scarcity of water,

consequent on inadequate rainfall, was another handicap, also the time and cost involved in the transport of the yield from the mine to its nearest seaport, the distance being 459 miles by road and rail. When the mine was first discovered, the nearest railway station was 287 miles distant. Now the line runs up to the property, and the problem of transport has been satisfactorily solved.

For many years, although it was known that the copper contained considerable quantities of gold, it did not realise in the European markets the price of pure Chilian bars, and the buyers made large profits by the separation of the metals, a procedure which they did not make public. This loss of profit went on until 1893, when a party of gentlemen, one of whom was a competent assayer, formed a syndicate to work the mine, which had ceased to be prosperous, on tribute. In the following year the attention of metal buyers was called to the silver and gold in Cobar copper, with the result that there was an immediate advance of £7 per ton as compared with the cost of Chilian bars, which until then had brought the higher price. The members of the syndicate have all made large fortunes from their venture.

Until recent years many copper and silver lead mines returned large profits so long as operations were so near the surface as to yield oxidised ores, but ceased to be remunerative when the workings reached the sulphides ; for with the metallurgical knowledge then at command these were found so difficult to smelt as to be commercially unprofitable. Many mines were consequently abandoned, and are now only awaiting enterprise, skill, and capital, to become once more successful ventures. The old workings would require

to be set in order, but this would involve far less primary cost than the exploration of new ground. There are many old miners who are keeping their knowledge of such abandoned properties carefully stowed away in the hopes of meeting some speculator who will give them an interest in the venture in return for their information.

The presence of tin had been noted by that eminent geologist, the Rev. W. B. Clarke, as far back as 1849, but its discovery in profitable quantities in 1872 was the cause of much excitement. Thousands of acres were secured for the recovery of stream tin, and many of the properties held at a rent of five shillings per acre proved phenomenally rich. On Vegetable Creek, in the New England District of New South Wales, it is estimated that, between 1872 and 1884, 15,000 tons of stream tin were taken from 150 acres, covering a distance of five miles of the stream.

I heard of another instance which occurred a little further north. A road crossing a creek was the bugbear of teamsters with heavily loaded waggons, since it was with the greatest difficulty they could get over it, because of the depth of heavy, loose, black sand, which they emphatically cursed. The trouble continued for years, until, on one trip, having given a lift to an old man who chanced to have been a Cornish miner, they learned from him that their enemy was the purest stream tin. The old man and the two drivers secured the ground, and quickly bagged—for it hardly needed washing—upwards of eighty tons, which at current rates realised £200 per ton—a stroke of luck not to be despised by working men.

Amazing as are some of the strokes of good fortune I have related here, many, equally wonderful, remain

hidden in the bosom of Mother Earth, possibly to fall to the lot of a few men ignorant of mining who may chance to have, and to make use of, the opportunity of investing a few pounds. But against these must be set the thousands who will venture similar sums and never see a penny of their money back. Let me, however, once more emphasise the fact that to trustworthy men with genuine mining and metallurgical skill Australia probably presents a better field for enterprise than any other part of the world. Such at all events was the opinion expressed to me during his visit to that country by an eminent American mining engineer, an accepted authority in the United States. He further declared that, but for the extent of his mining interests, he would have stayed in Australia and felt certain of success.

Except for men of such qualifications, mining is a mere lottery, and should be carefully shunned. Vast fortunes may be made, but the chances of doing so are perhaps one in a million ventures. Small profits are not infrequent, but they hardly justify a man in going seriously outside his legitimate business. From time to time I myself have invested considerable amounts in mining ventures, but absolutely without return ; and my experience is that of the majority. Nevertheless I do not altogether regret my speculations, for the risk gave a pleasant zest to life and relieved the monotony of daily work.

At the time of writing I fancy there are at least three places which afford a fair chance of becoming equally valuable with those mentioned above, although £100, invested now, would secure a considerable interest in any of them.

For instance, a tin discovery has been opened up

at " Ardlethan," about thirty miles from Condobolin near the Lachan River, in Central New South Wales. Eighty miles of claims have been pegged out on the outcrop and apparent direction of the lode. From one holding, upwards of £10,000 worth of ore has been sold. From another seven men, working for five weeks on three shafts, raised tin ore to the value of some £8,000. To get this, no driving or stoping was done, but only sinking. The outcrop had been walked over for years until chance disclosed the fact that it was a tin and not a ferruginous reef so exposed. The original lessees have in many instances made thousands of pounds from the expenditure of very small sums, whilst those who still hold will undoubtedly make much more.

Shortly after gold digging began in Australia, large numbers of people were attracted there by the prospect of easily-earned wealth. Amongst them was Lola Montes, the dancer who attained to such notoriety in Bavaria prior to 1848, being supposed, through her evil influence with the King, to have brought about the revolution which resulted in his abdication. Through his favour she had been created Countess of Lansfeldt.

This lady came to the new country to star as an actress and dancer. During her stay in New South Wales she got, as usual, deeply into debt, and her projected departure to Melbourne caused some consternation among her creditors. Accordingly they took the necessary legal steps to prevent her getting beyond the jurisdiction of the State. A sheriff's officer, having been entrusted with a writ, went on board the steamer by which she was leaving and arrested her. She asked him for a few minutes to get

ready to come with him. After a short time she called from her cabin: "I am now ready, Mr. Brown, if you will please come in." The poor man was amazed to find her arrayed in nothing but a pair of silk stockings and high-heeled shoes. Greatly embarrassed, the officer exclaimed: "For goodness' sake, madam, put something on," to which he received the disconcerting reply: "Your warrant gives you power to take me, but gives you no authority over my clothes, and I refuse to wear anything more than I now have on. You must escort me as I am, or not at all." After much futile protest, time being short, he went ashore to seek advice from his superior officers, but during his absence the boat sailed with the lady on board. That this is an authentic narrative I know, as I had it from an old lady, Madame Cook, who had come with Lola Montes from Europe as friend, companion, and dresser, and who was in the cabin during the whole of the incident.

While in New South Wales, Lola Montes had an intimate *liaison* with a young fellow, afterwards of some eminence in the civil service, who had sold a small cattle station for some £6,000. When they had been living together three months she asked him: "How much did you get for that station, Jimmy?" He replied: "£6,000." "It must be almost gone by this time," she continued. "All but a few hundreds," he answered. "Isn't it about time you went too?" she retorted heartlessly.

CHAPTER XI

THE " COSTA RICA PACKET "

The Costa Rica Packet—A Whaler—Arrest of Captain Carpenter by Dutch Authorities—A Charge of Piracy—Sir George Dibbs Makes Representations to Lord Jersey—An Appeal to the Colonial Secretary—The British Government's Timid Action—I Take the Business in Hand—Eventual Success of my Representations—The Court of National Arbitration orders Adequate Compensation—The Pearling Industry—Jealousy of the Dutch Respecting Australian Interests—Reluctant Interference of the Imperial Government—Moral Influence of the Costa Rica Case—Improved Relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies—Prince Bismarck, a Patriot.

ORIGINALLY intended as a sketch of my medical and political career, this volume has expanded into a record of multifarious events and strangely varied memories. Critical friends have persuaded me that a reduction of the political material and an extension of my general reminiscences and far-reaching experiences of Australian life will secure for my book a wider circle of readers. To the preceding autobiography and account of my legislative work I have, therefore, decided to add several chapters dealing with characters I have known and incidents with which I have been connected. Among the latter, the famous " Costa Rica Packet " case recalls a sensation of nearly a quarter of a century ago.

The " Costa Rica Packet " was a vessel registered

in Sydney, at which port it had been fitted out as a whaler. It arrived at Ternate, one of the Molucca Islands, on November 1, 1891, under the command of Captain John Bolton Carpenter. The following morning this gentleman was arrested by the order of the Netherlands India Government on a charge of piracy. The accusation was based only on a vague suspicion arising from the fact that four years before, on January 24, 1888, some of the crew then manning the vessel towed alongside her a derelict proa, containing some spirits damaged by sea water, and a case of kerosene. Some of the men, having broached the liquor, became drunk, and the captain thereupon ordered the remainder of the spirits to be thrown overboard, which was done, with the exception of a part which some of the men concealed, and afterwards, when anchored at Batjan, exchanged for seventy-nine pounds of sugar.

After his arrest Captain Carpenter was taken from the ship and conveyed to Macassar, a distance of 1,000 miles, where he was imprisoned for twelve days under the most humiliating and degrading conditions. He was not informed of the charge upon which he was arrested, nor was he afforded any information to enable him to ensure the presence of witnesses necessary for his defence. On the twelfth day of his incarceration he was called to the prison door, and told in Malay to "clear out." The case was first brought under the notice of the New South Wales Government by an important deputation to the Prime Minister, Sir George Dibbs, on February 12, 1892, and a minute sent by him to His Excellency the Governor resulted in strong representations being made by Lord Jersey to the Secretary of State for the

Colonies. Claims were made for £10,000 for the master, £10,000 for the owners, and £5,000 for the crew.

The result of the action, so far as it went, was that after a delay of fifteen months a despatch was sent to the Ambassador at the Hague by the British Foreign Minister, to the effect that: "Her Majesty's Government feel justified in asking the Netherlands Government to grant to Mr. Carpenter, by way of personal compensation, the sum of £2,500. Her Majesty's Government wish to keep the claim arising from the arrest within the narrowest possible limit, and they will not therefore put forward any claim on account of the alleged loss suffered by the crew and the owners of the 'Costa Rica Packet.'" Even this very mild demand was not promptly communicated to the Government of New South Wales, by whom the matter had been brought under the notice of the Imperial Ministers. The Government of the State was left in ignorance as to what had been asked from Holland until it came out casually through cable messages in the Australian newspapers.

The inadequacy of the reparation suggested, and especially the fact that so important a decision had been arrived at without any reference to the Colonial Government immediately concerned, aroused intense indignation, and a second deputation of unusually influential citizens again waited on Sir George Dibbs, on July 7, 1893, to support him in renewed representations to the Imperial Government for more adequate compensation to the master, and for recognition of the losses sustained by the owners and crew.

It was on this occasion that I first took any specially active part in the business, and I then pressed the important point, that the ship was a

whaler, and not an ordinary merchant vessel, the important difference being that, in the former, the master would have special knowledge of the localities and habitat of whales, which, as a trade secret, he must carefully keep to himself. Therefore his arrest and removal, immediately on the commencement of the whaling season, would not only be an injury to himself, but, by the loss of the voyage, it would also involve the interests of the owners and crew, who would only be paid by results. In a merchant vessel, on the captain being removed, the chief officer would take his place, and the ship could proceed to her destination after a few hours' delay. This distinction impressed the Imperial Ministers, and they promised to give the matter further consideration.

As showing the unreasoning subservience which was then expected as a matter of course by the authorities in London from the Government of an outlying British State, I may here quote a cablegram sent by Sir George Dibbs, as a result of the strong representations made to him, to the Agent General, to be presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies :

" Inform Lord Ripon great indignation felt here at action of Her Majesty's Government. The admission of injustice to Carpenter proof of wrong to owners and crew, who, participating in profit, by delay of voyage are heavy sufferers. Government thinks the honour of the British Flag deserves more emphatic treatment at hands Imperial Government, and that a full measure of redress should be demanded and enforced to owners and crew."

The reply to this message is astonishing and, had

not the business been of such great national importance, amusing. For Lord Ripon directed one of the permanent officials of the Colonial Office to write to the Agent General :

"I am at the same time to observe that though the telegram from Sir George Dibbs is couched in a somewhat unusual form, his Lordship will not allow that circumstance to interfere with its due consideration, as he is always willing to give the fullest attention to any representation made by your Government."

Antipodean ignorance of the fitting form in which one of His Majesty's Prime Ministers in an outlying autonomous State may make representations of importance to the unity of the Empire, to an Imperial Minister in London, leaves us wondering what words should have been used in order to impress the Colonial Office with the seriousness of the situation. It is to be feared that the lesson in manners proffered to the Australian Minister had not the intended effect, for the correspondence which followed during the next four years was on much the same lines, and probably its uncompromising tone did much to ensure ultimate success.

At this time, in an interview with Sir George, I suggested that to obtain fitting redress would involve constant attention, much thought, and from time to time prompt representations, and that his occupations as Prime Minister would make it difficult, if not impossible, for him to accomplish the business personally. I therefore offered to attend to the matter, subject to certain conditions: that it was left entirely in my charge, and that he should only, in his

capacity as Prime Minister, sign the letters and cablegrams instructing the Agent General as they were submitted to him, without insisting on explanations as to the why and wherefore of the phraseology used. At the same time I promised to write nothing which could in any way place himself or his Ministry in a false position. My proposal was accepted, and the entire business was conducted by me, until the incident ended by greatly increased compensation being obtained not only for the master, but also for the owners and crew.

As long as the Ministry of Sir George Dibbs remained in power I was most careful to keep my promise, and to write nothing that might place it in a false position with the Imperial Authorities. On Mr. (now Sir) George Reid assuming office, I was confidentially informed that the new Ministers did not intend to be " run in the Costa Rica case by Dr. Creed," as their predecessors had been. However, things went on just as before, and I continued the negotiations untrammelled by the feeling of responsibility that had previously weighed upon me by which I had undertaken not to write anything compromising. I was frequently much amused by a Minister showing me in confidence some minute, despatch, or cablegram, which I was told had been sent, and asking my opinion with regard to it. Though I was myself the writer, I generally gave it a qualified approval, saying : " It might perhaps have been stronger."

As I have already pointed out, the Imperial Government demanded only a small proportion of the indemnity claimed for the master, pandering even then to the Dutch Government by authorising the British Ambassador to say that it " wished to

keep the claims within the narrowest limits." The Imperial Government had taken this remarkably inadequate action without communicating with the State Government concerned; ignoring its opinions and wishes, and even omitting to inform His Excellency the Governor, as the proper channel of official correspondence.

Repeated enquiry at last elicited the fact that the refusal to ask reparation for the owners and crew was based on the opinion of some of the Law Officers of the Crown in London that they were too remotely affected for their claim for damages to have any reasonable chance of success. The fallacy of this learned opinion was subsequently demonstrated later by the finding of a Court of International Arbitration, which recognised both claims, and gave compensation to the extent of some thousands of pounds.

Later, the opinion of these Law Officers was again sought by the Foreign Office on a question of Australian interest. By a recent ordinance of the Netherlands India Government, "any vessel found in a port of that dominion, or in the seas within three miles of its coasts, having on board pearl shell, or apparatus used for its collection, may be seized; and the presence of either shell, or apparatus, will be sufficient evidence to justify the seizure." This enactment was so obviously aimed at the Australians, who are largely interested in the pearling industry in the seas near the Dutch possessions, but not within the jurisdiction of that country, that I felt it my duty to call the attention of the Imperial Government to it in a despatch of January 29, 1894. The question thus raised was referred by the British Foreign Minister, Lord Kimberley, to the Law

Officers of the Imperial Government, who reported that, in their opinion, this new law " was not contrary to the comity of nations, nor could any reasonable objection be taken to it " ; a statement at the same time being made by the Colonial Office that " if, however, any case of unfair or unequal treatment of British subjects should arise thereunder, it would be considered by the Imperial Government and dealt with accordingly."

The Agent General was directed to thank the Imperial Government, but at the same time to point out that " it was not advanced by New South Wales as being illegal, but as showing the hostile spirit with which Australian traders and pearlers in the Malayan Seas are regarded by the Dutch authorities, and the great probability that cases of oppression without just occasion would occur under its provisions." As to the promise that any case arising would be dealt with on its merits by the Imperial Government, the Agent General was requested to represent that : " As in such a case those of our fellow-subjects who would suffer great pecuniary loss would do so in as indirect a manner as the owners and crew of the ' Costa Rica Packet,' the prospect of obtaining redress would be extremely problematical, as, by the reply made in the House of Commons to the Right Honourable Sir Charles Dilke, it was stated by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that the case of the owners and crew had never been put forward by Her Majesty's Government." The argument thus urged appears to have penetrated even the self-complacency of officialdom in London, for it evoked a reply that : "Her Majesty's Government are fully alive to their responsibility for the protection

of Her Majesty's Colonial subjects while pursuing their lawful occupation."

To return to the case of the "Costa Rica Packet." After obstinate refusal on the part of the Dutch to grant compensation even to the master alone, and weak representations by the British Foreign Office, the Netherlands Government reluctantly consented to refer the question to International Arbitration. This was accepted by New South Wales, subject to the condition that the original claim, not only of the master, but also of the owners and crew, should be submitted. The Imperial Government agreed to this, stipulating, however, that the Colony should undertake the cost of the proceedings. The British Foreign Minister having repeatedly stated in Parliament, up to the very last day, that his Government would make no demand for compensation to meet the losses of the owners and crew, this change of attitude was gratifying.

After considerable delay the Arbitration Court decided in 1896 that the whole of the claimants had proved their cases, and awarded, including interest, £11,000 in place of the £2,500 tentatively put forward by the Government of Mr. Gladstone. Although it was very generally felt in Australia that the injuries suffered were not adequately met by the compensation paid, the decision was loyally accepted.

The settlement of this case has not been without influence in cementing the loyalty of Australia to the Mother Country. Had it been allowed to drag on indefinitely, the effect in the opinion of Sir Horace Rumbold, as expressed in his Recollections, would have been deeply realised by the Empire

during the war in South Africa. We cannot doubt that Australian troops would eventually have been sent to the field, but the enthusiastic promptitude exhibited would have been absent. It is probable that the united support of the outlying parts of the Empire was effectual in cooling the burning desire of some European nations to intervene in favour of the Boers, and that this aid was at the time, therefore, of supreme diplomatic importance to Great Britain, quite independent of the value of men with bush experience in the conduct of that campaign. Consequently it is impossible to over-estimate the service to the British race then rendered by Lord Jersey and Sir Charles Dilke in supporting New South Wales in her demands for justice on behalf of her citizens; nor to speak too highly of the good influence of Sir Horace Rumbold, then British Ambassador of the Hague, when advancing their claims to the Ministers of Holland.

I venture also to claim some credit for the successful result of my persistency while conducting the correspondence of the State with the Imperial Government through the Agent General; and also as Chairman of the Select Committee in Parliament in placing on record important evidence taken under oath. I feel also that I was fully justified when submitting the draft report, which was unanimously adopted by that body, in saying: "Beyond and above all, as a matter of Imperial concern, is the feeling which will be forced on loyal subjects that, should not the reparation claimed be quickly paid on the demand of Her Majesty's Government, the protection supposed to be afforded by the British Flag to the most humble subject of the Queen is not

the glorious inalienable right it has always been considered."

The evidence and report of the Committee showed how thoroughly justifiable was the indignation of Australia at the half-hearted way in which the Imperial Ministers put forward her claim for justice to her injured citizens, and the cool manner in which they expressed themselves as desirous of confining the demands made for reparation to the " narrowest possible limits " ; ignoring, therefore, the claims for the owners and crew of the " Costa Rica Packet." This pronouncement alone fully justified my statement in my letters on the case, published in *The Times* on December 26, 1894, and January 8, 1895, that the Imperial Government appeared to be willing to sacrifice the just interests of British Colonists in order to avoid hurting the sensibility of a European neighbour.

These contributions also aroused interest throughout the Empire, both in Great Britain and abroad, and hardly a newspaper refrained from dealing with the outrage by indignant comment. In these letters I was careful to suggest that no outlying British State would presume to dictate to the Queen's Government what its final decision should be as to the presentation of claims on its behalf to a foreign nation for compensation. At the same time I pointed out that when such negotiations were being carried on by the Imperial Ministers, the Colonial Government concerned could justly claim that there should be no modification of their demands, and that no final decision should be arrived at without reference to, and consultation with, the Ministry of the State concerned.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

FLEET WEEK IN SYDNEY. THE LANDING OF ADMIRAL SHERRY

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The successful prosecution of the claims in this case has been of material advantage to Australians having business relations with the Dutch Malayan possessions. Formerly petty, but troublesome, interference by the authorities of the Netherlands was not infrequent. Since the decision in the "Costa Rica Packet" case all is altered; every courtesy is afforded, and any mere officious interference with a British vessel is studiously avoided. I could give numerous instances, but perhaps it would not be profitable to resuscitate past events.

Times have changed since then, and the authorities in Downing Street no longer think nor speak of "those d——d colonists."

If there had never been other reasons for my last assertion, it would be fully justified by the action of Mr. Gladstone's Government in relation to New Guinea, in December, 1884. It will be remembered that shortly before this date, after vain endeavours to induce the Home Authorities to take action, the Queensland Government of Sir Thomas McIlraith directed one of its officers to hoist the British Flag and take possession of all the island unclaimed by the Dutch. Germany, however, protested, without any real right to do so, and Mr. Gladstone's Government at once climbed down, and so modified the effect of the Queensland action as to confine the annexation to the southern part of the country, over which the British Flag had been hoisted, leaving the rest open to the Germans.

The reason for this retreat was a desire by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, and Foreign Secretary, Earl Granville, to placate Prince Bismarck, while negotiating in other fields of diplomacy,

as is related by Lord Fitzmaurice. The former wrote to him in relation to New Guinea: "It is really impossible to exaggerate the importance of getting out of the way the bar to the Egyptian settlement," and directed him to "wind up at once these small colonial controversies."

I have always had the greatest admiration for Prince Bismarck, not only as the world statesman of the century, but as a true patriot, whose duty to his country stood, in his eyes, before everything else. He made no secret of the fact that he was absolutely indifferent to what other nations suffered, provided Germany was the gainer; nor did he care in what way he attained that end. It has generally been the opposite with certain of our Ministers, who, with Gladstone as a notable example, showed but little vigour in championing British interests if the sacrifice of them would insure their ease and safety in office—it would be absurd to say their power.

The demi-god, Bismarck, was the greatest of statesmen; but, except in his home circle, he was rarely a gentleman, as was obvious in his diplomatic conduct. People, generally speaking, have but little conception how vigorous, rough, and unscrupulous he could be, although the episode of his editing the telegram at Ems in 1870, and his tone in the negotiations with Great Britain from 1878 to his retirement, is sufficient evidence.

However, other times mean other manners, and instead of the indifference to the wishes and interests of the Colonies formerly exhibited, we have the solicitude shown by certain leaders when inconveniently heckled during recent general elections, "to consult the wishes of our brethren beyond the seas," before expressing definite opinions at crucial moments.

CHAPTER XII

MY EXPERIENCE OF THE OCCULT

Science and Spiritualism—Experience of General Schurz—The Spirits of Schiller and Abraham Lincoln invoked—My Experience in my own House at Woollahra —A matter-of-fact Medium—Varied Apparitions—A Message for Sir George Dibbs from a Departed Relative —My Attitude towards Spiritualism—A Subject for Research—Hypnotic Suggestion—As a Therapeutic Agent—Its Use in Paroxysms of Asthma and Epilepsy —An Experiment in Hypnotism.

THE general attitude of men of science in relation to what is known as spiritualism has always been a puzzle to me. The problem of a future, personal, intelligent existence after death is of the highest interest to every reasoning being, many of whom, however, hardly bestow a thought on it except blindly to accept statements made without any real evidence by so-called authorities who share their blindness. The assertion made by Huxley, when refusing to entertain the mere idea of enquiring into the phenomena of "spiritualism," exhibits him in the most illogical position ever taken up by this great genius. He is said to have remarked, when declaring himself an agnostic, that he could not realise the advantage of a continued personality, if it rendered the individual concerned liable to be called back to talk twaddle at tea parties with old women and curates.

In accordance with the dicta of spiritualists his chief premise is wrong. They say that no power is known which can demand the presence of a departed individual intelligence, but that all that can be done is to set up conditions by which such intelligences can make themselves manifest if they so desire.

So many enquirers of the highest intellect have given detailed accounts of phenomena which have occurred within their knowledge, when strict precautions have been taken against fraud, that they cannot logically be treated as ridiculous. Among them have been Sir William Huggins, Sir William Crookes, Flammarion, Sir Oliver Lodge, Lombroso, and many others of equal standing in scientific research. The statements of such men on scientific problems are as much beyond general knowledge as are the occurrences said to be produced by " spirits," which are accepted without cavil. When, however, they publish their experiences of the occult it is at once asserted that they must be dreaming, or subject to delusions. Carl Schurz, the eminent German-American, general and statesman, who was United States Senator, and afterwards Secretary for the Interior under President Hayes, gives an account in the third volume of his memoirs of an experience he had in the house of his friend, Dr. Tiedemann of Philadelphia, under the writing mediumship of Miss Tiedemann, aged fifteen. When asked to invite communication, he called for the spirit of Schiller, and asked that, as a means of identification, the Intelligence would quote from his works. In reply a couple of lines from " Wallenstein's Death " were written down by the medium. At first no one present could recollect them, although all recognised the language as being like

Schiller's. On making search they were found to be accurately transcribed. The young lady, when questioned, stated she had never read a line of the work in which the quotation was found.

General Schurz also asked for the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, and enquired as to why President Johnson had recently sent for him. The answer came :

" He wants you to make an important journey for him. He will tell you to-morrow."

Questioned as to the advisability of accepting the mission the reply was :

" Yes, do not fail."

General Schurz had not the slightest idea what he was going to be called upon to do, but he found that the President wanted him to visit the Southern States with a view to reporting to him as to the desirability of restoring their relations with the Federal Government as early as possible.

Another case, within my own knowledge, was one in which the spirit of a deceased friend, through a writing medium and in characteristic phraseology, directed his daughter and her husband to hasten home, as he was aware that some bad characters intended to break into an empty house next door to their residence. On examining the place next morning they found chisel marks, showing an attempted burglary, during which the thieves had apparently been alarmed—but not before they had cleared the fowl-house.

It may be argued that the incident of Abraham Lincoln related by Carl Schurz, and also that of my second tale, were of the nature of prophecies. This, I think, is not an accurate description, for the intention was present in the minds of the still living

actors, and may have been transmitted to the disembodied intelligences by telepathy.

If there is persistent personality after death (but as regards this I am strictly an agnostic) it is but logical that in some instances such beings may be permitted to manifest themselves to others still incarnated. The "good people" who confidently assert the certainty of a subsequent personal existence are illogical when they refuse to accept the possibility of individualities manifesting themselves on fitting occasions.

My own experience in this direction has been limited, but striking. In November, 1893, fourteen persons, including Sir George Dibbs, then Prime Minister, sat one evening in the drawing-room of my house in Woollahra, a suburb of Sydney, for the purpose of witnessing some phenomena that occur in the presence of a certain lady. This medium had never been in my house before that evening. Across a corner of the room a curtain had been hung forming a recess, containing nothing but a cane-seated chair, on which she took her seat. The lady was of ordinary intelligence, not particularly bright or clever, and very matter of fact, treating all that happens in her presence, extraordinary as it appears to other people, as simple, every-day occurrences. She is about five feet three inches in height. The room was darkened by the turning down of the gas, but the materialised forms were plainly visible by the light left, though it made the features somewhat indistinct. After a short interval figures of persons of various heights and stoutness appeared, walking from behind the curtain, with an easy gait not compatible with artificially lengthened or shortened legs. One was

the figure of a man having a stubbly thick beard about an inch long. He was at least six feet high, and spoke distinctly in a harsh, dissonant voice, difficult, in my opinion, for a man, and impossible for a woman, to imitate. He spoke on a great variety of subjects of personal and general interest to myself and others, remaining among us, on our side of the curtain, for some eight or ten minutes, and moving to and fro in front of and close to the semi-circle of sitters. Another was a dark child, not more than half his height, who walked about freely, and at our request, standing well in front of the curtain, dematerialised, becoming less and less, until nothing but a head, with the laughing mouth showing a glimpse of teeth, remained on a patch of white drapery on the floor. This also finally disappeared. Shortly afterwards it reappeared, increasing by degrees, until the figure regained its original height, and then walked away behind the curtain. Other figures appeared of somewhat similar character. One was that of a woman about five feet eight inches high, who moved with an easy, natural gait. She took a piece of writing paper and a pencil from my hand, and placing the former on the chimney-piece, wrote something on it. She handed it back to me, leaving me a little puzzled as to whom it was meant for, the light being insufficient for reading the pencilled message. On my hesitating, the figure took it from me with some exhibition of impatience, and placed it on the mantelpiece. I then asked: "Is it for Sir George Dibbs?" when it was handed back to me. I gave it to Sir George, saying: "Put it in your pocket until we have done."

The *séance* ending, and the lights being turned

up, I asked for the paper, and found " Mary Dibbs " thereon, with some word I could not well decipher. On telling Sir George, and handing it to him, he replied: " It does not concern me; I have never known a Mary Dibbs, living or dead."

On taking it home he began to tease Lady Dibbs and his daughters about " the girl who had come from the other world " to see him. But his wife replied: " Don't you remember, George, a woman who wrote to you from Cork, in Ireland, at the time your name was so much in the English papers about the Soudan Contingent, asking if you belonged to her family? She signed herself ' Mary Dibbs.' I have got her letters."

These were looked up, and Sir George and myself, on comparing the written names, found every letter of the signature in the communications from Cork and that written in my drawing-room identical in shape and character. A few months later, through the Agent General's office, we obtained an official copy of the registration of the death of Mary Dibbs, at Cork, some two years prior to the meeting at my house. The word I could not decipher was evidently—when compared with the old letters—" Cork."

On another occasion I witnessed a phenomenon which struck me as inexplicable by any known natural law. After several figures had appeared, indistinct on account of the inadequate light, there was seen that of a short, thick-set man, who, without any change in the illumination of the room, was as distinctly visible as any person I ever saw in my life. This visibility did not depend upon any use of a phosphorescent paint, for I could distinguish a

peculiar " satiny " texture of the skin, which would not have been perceptible had there been any phosphorescent coating applied to it.*

The two latter instances are not explicable by any supposition of fraud. The former, and others that I have witnessed, do not exclude all possibility of deception; but it would require a conjurer of marvellous dexterity to produce such phenomena without apparatus at a few minutes' notice in a strange house, and in the presence of persons in no way biassed in favour of spiritualistic ideas. The lady medium of whom I have spoken was then the wife of a Government official, since dead. She never had a large income, and since his death she must have known the pinch of poverty. Were she capable of producing the things we witnessed by conjuring, she would be well worth £100 a week to any showman. Is it likely that she would have continued to suffer privation when she had the skill to make a good income? My attitude is one of expectancy. I trust I am not credulous; but neither am I unreasonably sceptical of the truth of phenomena which I have actually witnessed, but cannot explain. So impressed am I with the importance of the subject that, when I can afford to do so, I shall make searching investigations under conditions in which fraud will be impossible.

I do not care to attend *séances* open to everyone on an entrance fee being paid. When the subject becomes a commercial transaction the temptation to perpetrate deception is obvious. The average

* The accuracy of the above narrative is confirmed by Mr. Charles Hedley, F.L.S., of the Australian Museum, Sydney, who was one of the persons present, and to whom it has been submitted.

person, as a rule, requires to get what he has paid for, and if genuine phenomena do not occur, the best imitations may be given in their place. It would be just as logical to deny the existence of good shillings because of their imitations by false coiners, as to refuse to accept reliable evidence of psychic phenomena because mediums have been detected in cheating. As far as I can realise the position it is this: there are certain persons whose temperament, constitution, or psychic nature is such that in their presence, under defined conditions, certain phenomena may occur, which are not explicable by the natural laws as now generally accepted. Those in the best position to judge, say that among such conditions, at all events in the earlier meetings of a circle, are the absence of unreasoning sceptics, a somewhat dim light, and the presence of a person whose attributes are such as to constitute him or her a medium. These conditions being observed, phenomena of varying character may occur.

The position of enquirers into psychic or spiritualistic phenomena is much the same as that of the students of electricity at the beginning of the last century. The then ascertained facts in no way foreshadowed all the knowledge that we now possess, nor the everyday use of the still-mysterious power for telegraphs, telephones, light or motive force, the X-rays, etc. It is the manifest duty of persons having the opportunity to make careful and exact enquiry, taking all precautions against deception. The materialisation or temporary reincarnation of a persistent personal intelligence is so much out of the range of general human knowledge that little surprise can be felt that its truth is doubted by the

average mind, which has had no experience of what is possible in psychic things.

The laws governing crystallisation are not understood. But it is known from observation that every salt has its own form of crystal, and, though the molecules of which it is formed may be dispersed by solution or sublimation, another crystal of identical form will, under fitting conditions, be recreated from them. May not close enquiry elucidate the mysteries of materialisation on like lines ? Atoms were until a short time since accepted as the ultimate particles of what we now designate matter, but a marvellously more minute division is now very generally accepted under the title of "electrons," in comparison to which an atom is gigantic. What is yet really known with regard to them ? Is there good foundation for the theory that they are the basis of all things, and that it is the relative speed of their incessant movement which constitutes existing things, whether ether, electricity, gases, fluids, or what we conceive to be solids ? Future scientific enquiry may be expected to elucidate this and every other so-called mystery.

In another phase of occult science I have made such research as to be satisfied that hypnotic suggestion can be made very valuable as a therapeutic agent in the practice of medicine. Many cases of disease yield to suggestion, either conjointly with drugs, independently of them, or even after they have absolutely failed in producing beneficial effects. My experience leads me to think that success in the use of suggestion depends less on the operator than on the mental attitude of the patient treated. Hypnotism is so potent an agent for good that, were

it in my power, I would prohibit it from being used except in the treatment of disease, and would have it placed under such statutory control as would prevent it from being exhibited for mere show purposes. When I first commenced its practice it was still under the ban which had been made evident by the persecution of Dr. Elliotson in the middle of the last century, and but few medical practitioners, if they thought on the subject at all, dared to use it, when the men who claimed to be leaders in the world of medicine not only condemned it *ex cathedra*, but asserted it to be mere charlatanism, without even making enquiry.

In terminating paroxysms of asthma its effect is miraculous, whilst it affords a possible means of cure in epilepsy which is deserving of systematic research. In one case when an attack came on in my presence, I was able, by throwing the patient into the hypnotic state, to terminate the convulsions instantly, leaving him in a placid sleep. In the treatment of inebriety it is most efficient. I have also produced an improved moral condition in persons who, until treated by hypnotic suggestion, were the despair of their friends.

A remarkable instance is that of a young lady, handsome and attractive in every way, but so mentally warped that she would steal anything if an opportunity occurred, and by preference told lies instead of the truth. In these particulars she was utterly shameless. In a short time, the beneficial suggestions made so changed her psychic condition, that she thought of her former delinquencies with horror, and became honest and truthful.

I placed my experience at the service of my fellow

practitioners, and invited the criticism of the general public by writing two papers, one of which I read at a meeting of the New South Wales Branch of the British Medical Association, in December, 1898, and the other I laid before the Australasian Medical Congress at Melbourne, in October, 1908. Time only confirms me in the belief that hypnotic suggestion may be of inestimable service to suffering humanity.

As demonstrating the great change which hypnotic suggestion may produce in the psychic condition of a good subject, I would instance the fact that I have frequently suggested to a hypnotic that (for him) a particular letter does not exist. On his being restored to wakefulness and set to write from dictation at the utmost speed, the manuscript was found not to contain one of the mentally obliterated letters. When later this particular letter had been restored, and another suggested as being absent, the same extraordinary phenomenon occurred. No person in the normal mental state could write rapidly and do this.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HORSE IN AUSTRALIA

The first Horses Imported to Australia—Crossing with Arab Sires—Ponies from the Malay Islands—Introduction of Draught Stock—Rapid Increase in the Price of Horses—Fluctuation in Prices—Bargains at Pound Sales—Three Horses for a Shilling—Barnum's " Hairless Horse "—The Endurance and Longevity of Australian Horses—Some Long Rides—Bushrangers and Horse Thieves—The End of the Duke of Athol—Theft of a Valuable Mare—An Ingenious Device.

SINCE an early period in the history of settlement in Australia the horse has played a leading part in the development of the country. Captain Phillip brought one entire horse and three mares in the first fleet, and importations of the best strains of all breeds have been continuous ever since.

The number of horses increased comparatively rapidly, for fourteen years later, in 1802, there were 295 of various kinds ; of these, 39 were the property of the Government, and 256 belonged to private persons, their value being estimated at £60 per head. A hundred years later, in 1902, there were 450,125, all, with the exception of a few in the Government service, being privately owned. The numbers during the last half-century have varied considerably, being at some periods considerably more than in later years. During the first

half of the last century a number of Arab sires were introduced, the cross strain producing most useful horses for riding and driving, and possessed of great endurance. A complaint, however, was made against the first cross that they did not properly lift their feet, and were therefore commonly addicted to tripping when going at a slow pace. This habit still characterises the offspring of more recently imported Arabs—for their introduction was renewed during the 'seventies—and for this reason they have again fallen into disfavour, though a moderate strain of this blood is considered a great advantage.

Ponies were also brought from the Malay Islands, being called " Timor, " though but a small number came from that island, and these not the best. Very superior ones were, and probably still are, to be obtained from the islands of Sauvoo, Sumbawa, and also from Battak in Sumatra. The best have all the characteristics of thoroughbred horses except size. The height of the superior ones rarely exceeds twelve hands. The strain was thought to add courage and endurance, and if a hackney's pedigree could be traced back to one it was mentioned as adding value to its descendant.

In the 'forties demand induced the importation of riding horses from Chili, but they were not much esteemed, and few shipments were made. The introduction of what is now known as the " Bathurst Burr " is credited to them, the seed of this pastoral plague, with its deteriorating power on the price of wool, having been brought in their tails and manes. This obnoxious weed, now common everywhere, was first observed to have established itself on the

Upper Macquarie, and was named after the chief town of the district in which it had its Australian origin.

Draught stock was imported later, as it was less needed in earlier years than riding horses, bullocks being more generally used for ploughing and haulage. Much care was taken for some time to prevent admixture of the two classes, and the endurance of the well-bred animals was proverbial. When, however, the discovery of gold gave an impetus to immigration, and the conveyance of provisions and other necessaries to the various diggings became a business of urgency, the animals which could be utilised for this work became the most valued. Well-bred mares were therefore often crossed with heavy sires, with the result that for many years horses generally deteriorated. They also increased so greatly that I know of one family, owning large stations, who in two years mustered upwards of 5,000, sending them to be killed for their hides and the oil to be obtained by boiling the bodies. Many of these were, of course, mere mongrels, but some among them were superior animals. For instance, a man took a fancy to one as the mob passed, and offered £1 for it, which was at once accepted. He broke it thoroughly, and it eventually became one of a four-in-hand team provided for the amusement of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, during his first visit to Sydney in 1868.

When the country was opened up shortly before 1830, and many stations formed, the demand for good saddle horses so increased that superior ones were not thought dear at £100 each. By 1843 prices had, however, become less, as it is recorded that in

that year a shipment of twenty-nine horses was sent to Calcutta, and sold at an average of £80 each. Later in the year, twelve from Glendon, near Singleton, brought £77 10s., while shortly afterwards seventy-one brought £96 per head—a few choice ones realising from £200 to £250 when disposed of in India. As their numbers increased the demand relatively decreased, and prices fell until £5 were willingly accepted for a good roadster. Even less was not often refused by an owner who had more broken-in horses than money.

One of the best journey horses I ever had was bought as a two-year-old in 1869 for £2, broken in and sold to me in 1871 for £6. He frequently carried me from forty to fifty miles in the day without being much fagged. In dry seasons horses in poor condition had but little value, and £2 were very generally accepted for them, even though quite sound. Until some years later there was much country unfenced, and stock trespassed greatly. Strange horses were therefore mustered at odd times, sent to the local pound, and, the brands being advertised, were either claimed by their owners, or sold by auction after a couple of weeks' detention. Sale, at any price that was offered, was necessary to pay the pound-keeper's charges. This custom tended to keep down the price, for a man who could ride could always purchase at a low figure a fat horse which would carry him well. The buyer, of course, had to take his chance as to temper, but to a skilled horseman this was of little moment. The fact of the horse having been broken in was made manifest at the sale by its saddle marks.

I recollect in 1870, at Scone, three boys, having a

shilling between them, attended a pound sale, and, three yearlings being put up, purchased one each. The best cost sixpence, and the others threepence each. What became of the latter I do not remember, but the sixpenny one grew into a good cob, for which I unsuccessfully offered £7 three years later.

On several occasions I purchased horses at pound sales. The first, I remember, cost £3, and during the next fortnight carried me more than 200 miles in my professional work. The most notable bargain, however, that I can call to mind was in 1871, when, hearing that a horse belonging to a farmer living about twelve miles from my residence had lost all his body hair, and had but about half a pound weight left of that on his tail, I sent a messenger to purchase it. My agent on returning told me that he had bought the steed for half a sovereign, and it was to be delivered at my stable the next day. On this, I said: "You have had all the trouble, and, if you like, may have the bargain, for you will be able to sell him to the next circus coming here for £20." My offer was accepted, the horse being eventually sold, after travelling a considerable part of settled Australia as the "Hairless Horse," for £475. It was subsequently shipped to America and bought by Barnum for £1,500, being eventually burnt to death in the United States, the stable which it occupied having caught fire. When the remaining hairs had been plucked out, and he had been well washed, he presented the most extraordinary appearance. The beast had been a bright bay, but after he had become "bald-headed all over" he looked like an animated rubber ball of grotesque shape.

He proved a great show with the aid of a " history " made by an imaginative newspaper man, who traced his origin to the Balonne district in the interior, that river being then frequented by a known family of hairless blacks—the suggestion being made that the same local influence which produced the condition in the one, did so in the other.

At that time almost every one in the country possessed a saddle horse, which was cheaply sustained by agistment in a paddock at a charge of a shilling per week. The maids as well as other girls not in domestic service obtained health and amusement by riding their own horses at unemployed times ; for all possessed side-saddles and bridles, and there were none who had not some willing cavalier to run up the steeds and accompany them on excursions.

The endurance of the Australian horses, even when only grass-fed, is remarkable, and under favourable circumstances as to tracks travelled and temperature to be endured, some have been known to carry an expert, who knew how to save his mount, upwards of a hundred miles in the twenty-four hours. An early record is that of a Mr. Mosman, who in 1824 rode one horse from Sydney to Maitland, a distance of 140 miles, in twenty hours.

The Honourable James Gormley, who often had to travel long distances in his business as a mail coach contractor, told me that on one occasion he rode a well-bred mare, which he originally purchased for £2, eighty miles in sixteen hours, without a drink, the thermometer being 120° in the shade. The weight carried was about eleven stone. It was a case of desperate necessity, and he made his way straight through the bush, not following any road, the

distance being calculated from point to point. He also told me that on another occasion he drove a pair of horses in a light buggy a little over a hundred miles in fourteen hours.

What a contrast between such journeys and some that I can recall in my youth in England! I recollect on various occasions accompanying my father, when driving from near Cirencester to a little beyond Hungerford, less than thirty miles. In addition to a halt midway, either at Swindon or Wantage, according to the route taken, the horse's legs were washed on arrival, rubbed and bandaged, and the groom sat up until at least ten o'clock to see that it fed properly. In Australia, with grass only, the utmost attention a horse gets after a journey may be a friendly tap with the bridle on being turned loose in the paddock.

As to the term "paddock," I do not remember its being used in England except to designate a small grass enclosure near the stable, all others being called "fields" or "meadows." In Australia every enclosure, irrespective of its area being either half an acre or ten thousand, is called—whether pasture or tilled land—a paddock. There are many of the latter size, and not a few much larger.

Some memorable rides on horseback have occurred in which men have distinguished themselves for endurance, generally in connection with dangerous illness, for a doctor is rarely sent for before his services are urgently required. The messenger gets a fresh horse every few miles on his journey from residents on the way, and asks that another may be ready for the doctor on his return with him. In this way very long journeys have been made in a

comparatively short time, for the pace is generally a hand gallop, and never slower than a canter.

A remarkable instance was that of Mr. W. A. Wilson, now of Rosedale, Murrurundi, who, in the times when there were no telegraphs, except between the principal towns, was living at Bando, a large station, the property of Messrs. J. F. and H. White, on the Liverpool Plains. A medical man being urgently needed, he, as the best horseman of moderate weight, volunteered his services, and started to fetch the nearest doctor, who resided at Coonabarabran. On entering the town he met the doctor's funeral coming out, so he turned back. On his return to Bando, finding that no other messenger was available, he started as soon as possible for Tamworth, getting fresh horses on the way, one of which turned out to be not in hard condition and delayed him by knocking up. This necessitated a walk of considerable length to obtain another. The ride commenced at 6.30 a.m. on Sunday and terminated at 10 p.m. on Monday with the arrival of Dr. Scott, then practising at Tamworth, Mr. Wilson having to guide him to Bando. The total distance travelled by the latter was 252 miles, without other rest than could be obtained by a nap whilst fresh horses were run up, and during a two hours' wait at Tamworth, until the doctor, who was absent, returned.

Another notable feat was that of Mr. Gormley, who, when his mail coach line had been disorganised by floods, and he had to establish temporary depôts to carry on the duty, rode 300 miles in forty-eight hours, having to swim various flooded creeks during the journey.

I myself have never done a really long journey on one horse, but I have travelled great distances by means of relays, the longest I remember in a single day being 125 miles between 4 a.m. and midnight, which a succession of urgent calls compelled me to accomplish. I had, in addition, the mental and physical effort needed while rendering professional aid. When I first settled at Scone, the district which I served professionally was about 120 miles from east to west, and ninety from north to south. Now things are altered, as numerous medical men are scattered through the country at various centres of population.

Station horses probably owe their exceptional longevity to the natural life they lead in Australia. The number kept prevents them from being systematically overworked. To this may be added the health maintained by an absolutely outdoor life, with adequate grass and water, and possibly the addition of a daily feed of corn and chaff during mustering, necessitated by continuous work for a time.

Even now station saddle horses rarely enter a stable, and a few years ago they never did. Twenty years and even more is not an uncommon age for them to reach while still fit for work. This, however, depends more or less on the treatment received from their owner or worker, and also on having been allowed to reach maturity before being heavily pressed. I knew a bay gelding, the property of Dr. Ronald, of Whittlesea, about twenty-five miles from Melbourne, who was driven to the day of his death by Mrs. Ronald, and reached the age of at least forty-two years. This was shown by the fact that, having

been stolen thirty-five years before, it was proved at the trial of the thief that he was already an aged horse.

Another instance was that of a grey, well known in the Queanbeyan district in New South Wales as "Old Parramatta," aged at least forty-seven. This almost incredible age was proved in the same way, it having been sworn forty years before that he was then "aged." When visiting the proposed site for the Commonwealth capital at Canberra in September, 1908, I had the place of his death pointed out to me by several gentlemen who knew his age and history. A third and even more remarkable instance is that of an old horse reported to have died in Monaro, N.S.W., after having been possessed by three owners, each for a period of seventeen years, making fifty-one in all. The third owner, it is to be presumed, accepted him in kindly sentiment to provide for a comfortable old age and a death with little suffering.

In connection with horses, particulars of some of the more notorious thefts will not be without interest. During the bushranging days the quality of every good horse possessed by any resident of the district they frequented was well known to the outlaws. Not one was safe from their depredations, did they require a remount. After being stolen, the horses would be ridden with the greatest consideration and treated as well as circumstance permitted, until they got poor, when they would be turned adrift to make their way home at their own will. All these highwaymen were exceedingly good horsemen, and therefore, as a rule, horse lovers. Even those who did not treat their mounts well from good feeling

would do so from the instinct of self-preservation, for all of them realised that at any moment their liberty, and perhaps their life, might depend upon the condition and fleetness of the horse they bestrode.

A kindly and popular horse-owner, on missing a horse at that time, might be fairly confident that after a few weeks it would turn up, waiting to be let into the old paddock, possibly poor and wasted by hard riding and more or less privation, but still sound and as fit as ever after a few weeks' rest on good grass. Bushrangers rarely stole horses to sell them, but took the mounts they needed for use as they wanted them. It was different with the mere horse thief, who stole for sale, or, in the case of high-class stock, for breeding purposes in remote places.

One of the most celebrated instances of this was the imported colt, Duke of Athol, a son of the celebrated Derby winner, Blair Athol. This very valuable horse was taken from his stable at Bylong on the Goulburn River, N.S.W., early one night, not being missed until the morning, when the whole country was roused and a strict search made. The tracks followed for some distance were lost, and for many weeks nothing was learnt as to his whereabouts, when it was ascertained that he had been taken to the top of Mount Tyrrel, about sixty miles away, and put into an almost natural paddock, made secure by a few panels of rough sapling fence. The horse was never rescued alive, but was found dead and mutilated at the bottom of a precipice forming one side of the remote hiding-place. All distinctive markings had been removed and destroyed, but enough characteristics remained to identify the carcase. The marks showed that the thief had intended

to supply his captive with water by making a collecting trench to receive a considerable flow which dripped over a rock, and so bring it within easy reach of the stolen animal. Either from haste or carelessness, the man failed to accomplish his object, and the Duke, becoming parched with thirst, endeavoured to quench it by licking the dripping stone, and, reaching farther and farther, lost his balance and fell over the edge, a depth of some hundreds of feet. Information subsequently received went to show that a notorious gang, having stolen several thoroughbred mares from a well-known stud, determined to secure a fitting sire, with the intention of taking the whole number to a remote station in the west of Queensland, and there breeding stock which would have been of very high class. It was even supposed that they had the ambition of winning the Melbourne Cup and other big handicaps with one of the offspring. An unknown horse with a faked pedigree would get such a comparatively light weight as to make the race a certainty. This would make heavy wagers, in addition to the valuable prize, a safe investment.

On another occasion some blood mares and their foals were stolen from Glenalvon near Murrurundi, whilst running in a paddock. On the loss being discovered the closest search was made in the surrounding country, whilst the police were on the alert throughout the Colony. Nothing was heard of them, however, for some months, when a gentleman, taking a short cut by jumping the fence of a settler's holding, passed, in the middle of a plain, an excavated pit, in which he saw some mares and foals, which he recognised as the missing animals. He carefully avoided giving any indication of his discovery, but

rode slowly and apparently carelessly to the opposite boundary, leaped his horse over it, and, when well out of sight in the growing timber, galloped his hardest to the nearest police depôt, where he told of his discovery and hurried the constables to the place. The mares and foals were brought in, the result being that several members of the settler's family were arrested, convicted, and imprisoned for theft.

I had a valuable mare stolen which I never recovered. She was very fleet, and had won, in good company, nearly every race in which she had run at country meetings. Her owner, believing she would never have a foal, when reducing his stud put her up to auction, and I purchased her at a comparatively low price for side-saddle use, for which she was well fitted. To every one's surprise she dropped a foal traceable to an exceedingly well-bred sire, and her value increased in proportion. She was then sent to an imported high-class Arab. Much to my disgust, after a few months she was missing from the paddock, never to be recovered. Some years later I received information, upon which, however, I was unable to act effectively, that she had been stolen by a certain man, and taken, with her offspring, to a district some 300 miles away. She was then dead, and her progeny grown beyond identification. It was poor consolation to me to learn that her Arab colt turned out the horse of that part of the State most celebrated for his speed and endurance.

A not infrequent device of horse thieves in Australia has been to take stolen horses to a considerable distance from the place of theft, insure by accom-

plices their speedy impounding, and then be there to purchase them at the sale which would ensue on their remaining unclaimed. In this way the thief would acquire legitimate title, and could assert ownership without danger.

CHAPTER XIV

CHARACTERS I HAVE MET

" Scotty, the Wrinkler "—A Remarkable Aboriginal—" Jim, the Pilot "—" R. T." and his Checkered Career—Photographer—" Cook and Troubadour "—Newspaper Proprietor—Innkeeper—" R.T.'s " Grotesque—His Delusions—A Certificate of Insanity—An Australian Artemus Ward—A Humorous Scotchman—His Experience among Cannibals—He Sails as Supercargo—The Bailing of " John Smith," and other Anecdotes—Bill, the Diver—An Experience with the Natives—A Cutting Reply—The Giant Chang—A Policeman Nonplussed—A Patient who Asked for More—A Smart Retort—Sir Robert Peel's Retort to Smith O'Brien—A Delicate Enquiry.

FROM time to time one is brought into contact with both men and women of eccentric character. Amongst others one who was very generally known in Australia by his *nom de plume* of " Scotty, the Wrinkler," recurs to my memory. He was a contributor to several influential journals. Once an officer in the British Army, I believe in the Artillery, he retired and came to Australia. From the very general cause he gradually lost his rightful social position, and became cook at various stations or to shearers employed at their sheds. Unquestionably erratic, he had adopted an attitude of marked hostility to his original class, which, it is not unreasonable to admit, may be justified by the affectation and snobbery

of many claiming to be within the charmed circle.

During the latest phase of his career he adopted a rôle which was of material assistance to many "ne'er-do-weels." He created a camp, which he christened "The Hollow Log," in a pleasant neighbourhood, sufficiently distant from public-houses to lessen the temptation of liquor, yet not so far from a township as to maintain a depressing isolation. In it he received the various workers who wanted recreation without excessive drink. Here, charging but little more than the actual cost of their accommodation, he was, I am informed by people who knew the place, a really benevolent friend to those who sought him, and enabled them to have much needed rest and recreation instead of spending the savings of the past year or two in a few days' drunkenness.

Naturally, he had varying experiences, amongst others a terrific battering by "larrikins" (Anglice "hooligans") in a low part of Melbourne. He gave an account of this incident in the news sheet he occasionally issued, inserting with it two portraits of himself, one before, and the other after this adventure. He sent me that issue with the letter I now introduce. His attention had been aroused by the publication in the Press of a notification that a Royal Commission appointed by the Government of Victoria was about to proceed from Melbourne to Sydney to obtain my advice and aid, with the view to legislation by the Government of that State in relation to the control of inebriates, on the lines of the law which had been adopted on my initiative in New South Wales.

On receiving his letter my impulse was to throw it in the waste-paper basket, but on second thoughts, recollecting that the writer was by birth and in earlier life a gentleman, I thought I would venture to give him a well-merited lesson by replying to his communication in a similar strain. I was, moreover, induced to do this from disinclination to afford just ground for the accusation that I am not always prepared to receive, and—if my judgment approves—act on assistance in public affairs proffered by anyone.

"Hollow Log,
"Narandera,
"N. S. Wales.
"29th *May*, 1902.

"DR. CREED, M.L.C.

"SIR,

"On every occasion on which there has been an 'inebriate' or 'drink' commission or enquiry, I have volunteered to give what experience I have free.

"Like some one else, I have been 'laughed to scorn.'

"It is the same with *rabbits*. Now I *know* all about drunks, drinks, and drunkards, much more methodically and practically than you or Bevan or the 'other members of the Inebriety Board.'

"If the enclosed 'par' is true, you are not trying your best, nor is Dr. Bevan, to grapple with booze unless you get *some* of my sort to let you know how, why, and where they drink. Remove the cause—not the drink—of drinking, and the effect—inebriety—will vanish. But a man of my stamp is not a 'persona grata' with a *board*, excepting that of the Green-cloth and the 'hash-house,' and you never ask us to give evidence.

" On the rabbit question, at the first conference they were told this, but they did not want anything but exes.

" Now I make you the same offer—passage to and from Sydney, one week's board, total, a Government pass and a quid, and you'll at least hear our side of the question.

" I'd like to face some of you on this question of Royal Commissions, etc., i.e., at one of them, on subject matter in which I am an expert—

" Drink
" Cooking
" Education as per non-instructive system in New S. Wales
" Rabbits
" Murrumbidgee Whaling
" Soldiering
" The Unemployed (I am always employed),
" and I am, still,
" Yours as usual,
" (Sgd.) PHIL. MOWBRAY."

Much to my regret, the writer died a few months later, before he visited Sydney, and I had not the opportunity of seeing and conversing with him. His was eminently a wasted life, but still he was a generous soul, and, as opportunity occurred, helped the even less fortunate.

I met once a remarkable aboriginal who, with but little opportunity, had acquired a fair education and a social and pecuniary position which entitles him to the respect of the district in which he resides. In an article published in January, 1905, in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, on " The position of the Australian Aborigines in the scale of human intelligence," in which I championed the just claim of this

generally despised race to the possession of high intellectual powers, I related his history.

On one occasion when he visited Sydney we were introduced to each other, and, wishing to arouse his interest sufficiently to induce him to collect such weapons and implements of his race as would add to the valuable exhibits in the Australian Museum, I took him to the institution and drew his attention to the prehistoric chipped weapons of Europe, pointing out their close similarity to those still made and used by many of the autochthones of this continent. After studying them attentively, he remarked: "After that no one can refuse to accept evolution," and, on leaving the building, he said to me: "The whites need not be so conceited, for their ancestors were pretty much like my people, were they not?"

An amusing and estimable character was an employee of a friend of my earlier days. He was known as "Jim, the Pilot." One day his master said to him: "We all like you, Jim, and feel that there could not be a more trustworthy man, but there are a lot of children growing up on the place, and your language is not the best. It is not fitting that they should learn to swear as you do. You must, therefore, leave it off, or leave the station." "What, sir, do they say I swear! Why"—with a string of the strongest expletives—"I never lets out a —— oath." The remonstrance was not much use, for though he did his best, the best was not entirely successful. His efforts were so sincere and his grief at the idea of leaving was so genuine, that his master had not the heart to dismiss him. He improved vastly, but still was never a lingual saint. Later on he married and had children of his own, all girls, of whom he was very

fond, and who were almost the best behaved little ones on the place. One Sunday he was heard to say to them: "Now, little 'uns, help your mother clear up, and then get your books and learn your —— catechism, or I'll knock your d——d little heads off."

This last expletive calls to my memory an amusing instance of propriety on the part of a young lady typist. A draft prospectus of a mine, which she had typed out, was submitted to me. One paragraph dealing with the development of the property read as follows: "Prospecting shafts have been sunk, a race cut, and the creek has been d——d."

A singular being, with whom for the major part of his life I was often in close association, was R. T., a Press writer of much ability. He was the son of a gentleman well known in the Mother Country as a collector and dealer in antiques and curios of all kinds. His sons, of whom I knew two, inherited his rare ability in this direction, having also added to it special knowledge in conchology and ethnology. In pursuit of the two last-mentioned branches of science they wandered throughout the world, invading the most out-of-the-way places. The younger, with whom I was the most intimate, I first met shortly after starting on the exploring trip to North Australia. A few hours before the party left Brisbane he made his appearance on our ship. We quickly foregathered, and as the deck was so crowded with horses and forage as to leave no space for a chair, lay together upon the bales of the latter during the tedious days of the passage to our next places of call, Bowen and Townsville. We "swapped" yarns and experiences, and, being both young, gained considerably in worldly knowledge by the association.

At the latter port he left us, as our leader declined to allow him to join the party as a natural history collector, which he had asked to do. From Townsville he made his way to Sweer's Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria by shipping as second mate without pay in a small steamer named *The Pioneer*, which was going there to ply between the newly-established settlements in those outlandish parts. Later he drifted to Burketown on the Albert River, where I again found him established as a photographer. His narrative of the trip was most amusing. He had been reduced to less than his last shilling, and joined the little *Pioneer* with the clothes he stood up in and his photographic outfit. He had neither bed nor blankets, and consequently, though in the tropics, found the nights cold. When half chilled in the early morning, his only resource was to turn out one of the numerous Kanaka crew and take his well-warmed place. In such a situation tastes differ, but necessity, like many members of the bar, knows no law.

He was most versatile, and quickly rigged up what he humorously called his studio with saplings and calico. It was not long before he had photographed every inhabitant as well as the casual visitors, generally stockmen, or other bush workers, who drifted to the place to spend the savings of a year or two, often a very considerable sum, for wages were high. He shrewdly inculcated as a great principle that " no spree could be complete without several photographs of its varying phases." The pictures were not great works of art, and often what purported to be different illustrations were printed from the same negative. They, nevertheless, quite met the wish of the sitters, who were only desirous of havin

a complete " spree." A runaway sailor had foisted himself on him, and asserted his right to shelter in the studio when not engaged in the zealous performance of his assumed duty of getting drunk. As it would have been inhuman to have left even such a bad lot helplessly exposed to a tropical sun, he was not kicked out as he deserved, but only rolled out of the way when the use of the camera was required. As a consequence, but few pictures were taken without some part of " Prentice Bill " appearing in them.

After twelve months' residence in the Gulf District my friend was driven back to civilisation by repeated attacks of fever. He made his way in 1869 to Scone, where I was practising, and I was pleased to welcome him as a visitor at my house. With improved surroundings, a perfect climate, and fitting treatment, he quickly recovered. With renewed health the old itch for change again assailed him, and he started for West Australia, to collect in that almost virgin field shells both terrestrial and marine. The then newly exploited pearling field of the north-west afforded every prospect of successful finds of varieties new to science. Prior, however, to his reaching this locality, the failure of his pecuniary resources left him no choice but to take some temporary employment. He applied successfully for engagement as one of an exploring expedition about to start for the unknown interior. This fulfilled his needs admirably, for not only did he earn money, which he required, but at the same time had opportunity for collecting in unsearched districts. With great glee he wrote to tell me of his good luck, and tersely described his position and duty by saying that he had been appointed " cook and troubadour " to the party.

He was very successful in collecting unknown specimens, and on his return to New South Wales, after a year's absence, he came again to visit me. After a short stay he established a country newspaper in a neighbouring town, although he was wholly without capital. After a short time he started another in a district not far away, which he placed under the editorship of an ex-officer of the Guards, who had managed to dissipate a very large fortune before he reached thirty. How he managed this I could never understand, for he had no vices and was the best and most entertaining of companions. He was a wonderfully clever sketcher and caricaturist, and in this way could earn a fair livelihood. With characteristic restlessness he suddenly determined to join a co-operative exploring expedition to New Guinea, at that time in its eastern and southern parts an absolutely virgin country so far as whites were concerned. However, he never reached there, being drowned in the wreck of the crazy brig which the party had chartered. The survivors reported that he was last seen on the fore-yard, waving a resigned and courageous farewell to them as they cast off their raft, there being no serviceable boat. His last sketch was sent to me from Townsville, the last port of call. It represented his first appearance in Papua, as a St. James's Street swell, eyeglass and all complete, modified by a rolled swag carried over his shoulder and a tea-billy in his hand.

The anxieties of owning a newspaper soon wearied my eccentric friend, and, disposing of his properties, he left for pastures new. For some time he was on the Sydney Press, then went to the country to conduct various newspapers, returning again to the

capital city to become the licensee of an inn. His general knowledge and quaint wit made this a well-known Bohemian resort, and any visitor was sure to be entertained by the sparkling humour of the *habitués*, though the host's quaint conceits and quips would have been all-sufficient.

I remember making a call one morning, and, on entering the bar, I was greeted with: "Oh, Doctor, I have had such a throw-in. I have got the loveliest grotesque you ever saw; it is far better than any Japanese carving I have ever met with. Here it is," producing an ugly, blinking, squinting, sandy-haired, half-starved baby, about twelve months old. I exclaimed: "Where on earth did you get that?" His reply was: "A woman this morning wanted to leave it for drinks, but of course I could not have that, so I gave her a crown for it. But it's all right, she spent the money before she left." He had it nursed with the greatest care, and in a short time, though it never became more good looking, it ceased to appear starved and ill. When his health, both mental and physical, failed, and he had to give up his business, he was extremely anxious that I should take over his *protégé*, but I protested that my taste did not lie in grotesque infants. However, I arranged for the babe's well-being, and I hear he has grown up a useful citizen in spite of his lack of beauty.

My friend made his new home in a nice cottage close to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, but was not happy in his near neighbours, for he soon made plaintive appeals for sympathy as regards one of them. "I don't so much mind his leaning on the fence and yarning," he said, "but when he gives me pressing invitations to afternoon tea it is a little too

much, as he wants me to feel sympathetically interested in his personal reminiscences." Enquiring who the pushing friend was, I was told: "Oh, Nosey Bob!" By this sobriquet the State hangman was generally known—in a spirit of contradiction, for he had in a great measure lost that feature. I could only suggest a move to another neighbourhood.

As time went on he developed many delusions, amongst them that poison was being administered to him in the form of "Aqua Tofana," the mediæval means of removing superfluous persons, notably husbands. I felt it necessary to point out to his wife that it was her duty to place him under restraint, but could not induce her to do so until, as she said, "Poor dear Dick wished it." I feared that such a contingency would never occur, but much to my astonishment one morning I saw her coming up the path to my door with "Poor dear Dick" following at her heels. He had added to his quaint appearance by wearing for use with his sounder eye half a double tortoiseshell eyeglass suspended from his neck by a short length of hemp clothes-line, which he used as being the most handy thing available.

On their entering, I was informed by the wife that "He wishes it now," so I endeavoured to elicit the facts necessary for my testimony by questioning him as to the supposed poisoning. His replies, however, disconcerted me, for he promptly said: "Oh! that's nothing, all my fancy." The same thing followed as to a number of his former ideas, and until I asked his wife for particulars I could learn nothing—though he was obviously insane—on which I could safely base my certificate. A few questions to her, however, elicited information which enabled me to

give it. On my saying: "But what does he do?" she replied: "He kneels down and is praying aloud nearly all day." My poor friend who was listening attentively, then chipped in: "Oh! that will do you, won't it?" Taking no notice, I further enquired as to what he said. The answer was rather personal to myself: "'Oh, Lord! Why do you afflict me like this? Look at Dr. Creed; you don't serve him the same, and he is a heap worse man than I am.'" "By Jove!" he exclaimed, "if that doesn't do, I don't know what you want!" Other data followed, and the necessary papers for his restraint being completed, he cheerfully made his way, under loving escort, to an asylum, whence I frequently received the most amusing letters from him, giving vivid accounts of the life and doings of himself and his co-inmates. Only an occasional phrase showed how amply justified was the control exercised. After some weeks he recovered sufficiently to be released, and returned to journalistic work. A little later the old wandering spirit again possessed him, and he arranged to go to the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides, in the South Pacific, to collect shells and ethnological specimens. On the way he contracted malarial fever of a malignant type which compelled his return to Sydney, where he died a few days afterwards.

He had a number of brothers, all of whom were eccentric. I was only acquainted with one, who in the early diggings times used to work his claim during the day and sing topical songs at improvised concerts in the evenings. His fame spread throughout Australia and he drifted into the show business, making a considerable fortune. He was a precursor

of Artemus Ward, doing in reality much as the American did in his lectures and writings. He used to alternate piety with worldliness in a remarkable manner. More than once, in a sudden access of religion, he dismissed his concert company, paying considerable sums in compensation to the members. After a few weeks he relapsed into his old sinful state and re-engaged them. After a time he decided that the show business on these lines was destined to ultimate failure, so he gave it up to follow the family bent of collecting curios. He was a most expert conchologist, and though long since dead is still quoted as an authority in that science.

He wandered to the most out-of-the-way places, from which he sent amusing descriptive letters. I remember one, from a remote part of the Philippine Islands, in which he said: "We are in a sad state of spiritual destitution here just now, for the priest 'went' all the church plate on a cock-fight and lost it; we shall, therefore, have no services until the wind is raised to buy some more." This story is probably true, for in the Malayan and Philippine Islands, at all events until recent years, cock-fighting was a passion from which few were free. Soon after this my friend, like his brother, died from fever caught in his wanderings.

Perhaps the most humorous man I know is a Scotchman, the son of a distinguished official in the British Civil Service, a restless spirit, who has contemplated life from almost every point of view. Soon after leaving school he went to a coffee plantation in India; thence he came to Australia, to go for some time to the South Sea Islands, with the intention of establishing a similar industry there.

This not having proved a success, he drifted to South Africa, only to return here again. He had a dry, quaint, and apparently unconscious wit. I wish I could have afforded to retain him as a private secretary, just to hear him talk. I will give a few instances of his humour.

In an able contribution to a newspaper on motor cars, he wound up by saying: "But after all, the great want of the age, especially in Europe, is not so much a horseless vehicle as a horseless sausage." When in the South Seas he was on one occasion adrift in a boat with two natives, and before they reached the shore, after many days of starvation, his weight had dropped from sixteen stone to less than seven. When they eventually reached an island, I think Guadal-canar, at a part of the coast where the inhabitants had been exterminated by the mountain tribes, he was too weak to walk or stand. Crawling to a small stream he took a drink, and then commenced on all fours to browse on grass and leaves. In a few hours he was discovered by some natives who had come to the shore for the cocoanuts which he had been unable to climb for. They fed and carried him back to their village, where they treated him with some kindness. With a fair supply of native food he gradually grew stronger, but was always haunted with the idea that he was being fattened for consumption. As he said when relating the adventure: "My worst day was that on which large quantities of yams, taro, plantains, and other native comestibles were brought to the place for a feast. I thought to myself: 'These are the vegetables and I suppose I must be the joint they are destined to be eaten with.'" He thought it

most prudent on the first opportunity to make his way to the coast, where he was found and rescued by a missionary from another island, who, having heard, through that mysterious method of conveying news possessed by many primitive races, that a white man was detained with one of the tribes, came off in search of him.

He returned to Australia, and after a time went as supercargo on a tramp steamer to South Africa. His account of the trip was most entertaining. One of his fellow-passengers, a partner in a British firm having business connections all over the world, was travelling in the interests of his company. When asked why he chose such a class of vessel when regular lines of steamers were available, he replied: "I do it to save money." This he perhaps did in the bare cost of passage, but as his bill for liquor, only a small proportion of which was consumed by himself, though he took his share, was over £100, the attempt at retrenchment cannot have been a marked success. After a dinner which he gave in Durban he insisted on seeing the town, and as he would not be thwarted, the third officer was entrusted with the care of his safety. After midnight the latter returned with no hat, a dishevelled red head, and the bow of a vividly green necktie under his left ear. He woke up my friend the supercargo with the query: "Do you see any signs of drink upon me?" followed by a terse statement that: "Brown has been taken by the Zulu police," who would have taken him too if he had not bolted. On being asked what they had been doing, he reluctantly admitted that the pair had been squatting in the middle of the street singing: "Christians, awake, salute the happy morn." Soon

after daybreak my friend went in search of the derelict and found him confined in a cell in the lock-up. The white sergeant in charge acknowledged that he had a white prisoner who had been brought there for protection, but gave a very different account of the cause of his arrest from that related by his crimson-haired guardian. The deposit of half a sovereign secured bail. On demanding the prisoner's name, for official entry, he was asked: "Now, sergeant, did you ever know a well-dressed man who had been arrested for drunkenness, and bailed by a friend for ten shillings, whose name was not John Smith?" The official confessed that he never had, and so the business ended.

He had many amusing stories of this kind. He was passing a well-known restaurant in Sydney one day about lunch-time when two men emerged from it, the one very drunk, the other respectably so. The latter said to the former: "Come along, old fellow. I'll call a cab; you'd better go home." "Don't want a cab, won't have a cab," protested the other; "can walk. It's a beau'ful night." On another occasion he was sitting in a tram-car at its starting place, waiting for it to start, when he was accosted by a drunken sailor who said: "You're just the man I want. There are five of us just dying for a drink. I've got threepence, and if you'll give me a shilling it will just do the trick." He declined, however, but as the car moved off, realising his non-success, the sailor exclaimed: "Now, man, pull yourself together! You are not half as drunk as you *think* you are."

I have often tried, but so far unsuccessfully, to persuade him to record his experiences.

His humour was of the same kind as that of "Mark Twain," whom I frequently met during his visit to Australia. He is credited with rarely laughing, however great the occasion might be, but I was able to tell him a true story which amused him immensely. When the mail steamer *Austral* sank in Sydney Harbour in the year 1882, she was successfully re-floated. The contractors for the work had amongst their staff a most efficient diver, who was as much at his ease below water as above it. One morning he came on duty when a case of bottled beer had been brought to the surface. It was opened to examine its condition. Knocking off the heads, he drank three bottles, and putting on his helmet went down to his work. Everything went on as usual until the end of his watch. As he did not then appear, an attempt to signal him was made, without success, and another diver was sent down to see what accident had happened to "poor Bill." It was found that his line was made fast to a stanchion, and on the air pipe being followed, it was discovered that he had gone into a cabin, got into a berth, and gone comfortably to sleep, having taken the precaution to avoid disturbance by any uncalled-for signalling.

Among my contemporaries as Members of the Legislature, though not in the same Chamber, were men whose characteristics were interesting to the neutral observer. Some, though perhaps eccentric, were worthy ; of others the less said the better.

There was one who had spent his early life in the back country, and had numerous adventures with wild blacks, which he related with the utmost good humour. On one occasion he was without arms, and his horse had got away from him. He noticed that

a number of natives were trying to stalk him, and as a last resource he got behind a tree, from which he put out his head so that the darkies could easily see him, first on one side with his wig on and then on the other without. This quick change performance so scared his enemies that they bolted without venturing to attack him further. At another time, when he called at a station where he was well known, at which the servants were all native gins, the lady of the house said to one of them : " Is there any water in that gentleman's bedroom ? " to which " Mary " unexpectedly replied : " That ain't no gentleman, that's ' Johnny Brown.' "

In 1887 the Viceroy of Canton sent two Mandarins of high grade to Australia to report on the position of Chinese subjects in that country. The higher of the two in rank, besides having full knowledge of other European languages, was a really good English scholar, speaking it without the slightest trace of accent. During his stay in Sydney this excited the wonder of an ill-bred man, who by chance occupied a position of some influence, which incited him to claim literary authority. In conversation with the envoy he said : " How remarkably well you speak English ; I cannot detect the slightest trace of the pronunciation so usual with the Chinese." The reply came quickly : " I was sent to the best schools and have been thoroughly educated. If you had been to one equally good and had been as well taught, you would speak English quite as well as I do." No retort could have been more apt or cutting.

Another Chinaman who visited Australia was the giant, Chang, so well known throughout the world. He came to the Hunter River district among other

places. At that time the existing railway connecting Sydney with Newcastle was not even contemplated. Communication between the two places was maintained by steamers, whose arrivals and departures were made to meet as far as possible the convenience of passengers intending to travel by the Northern Railway. There were but few separate cabins, and the majority of the voyagers occupied two tiers of sleeping berths round a large saloon. That the "great man" might have adequate rest, a message was sent to the steamer's office to retain two for him that he might lie at full length. When, however, he came on board and desired to retire, it was found that, insufficient instructions having been received, the berths were an upper and a lower.

He was most suave and polite, and very clever, and besides his native language could speak colloquially English, French, and German with fair grammar and accent.

Included in the exhibition was a dwarf Chinese woman and her baby; the latter, however, was absent from it at Scone, and hearing that my wife had expressed disappointment, the following morning the whole company, giant, dwarf Chinawoman and baby, strolled up to my house that she might see the child. They all made themselves most agreeable, and Chang, who had very long arms, wrote his name on the ceiling of the dining-room. I do not now possess that autograph, for having left Scone for Sydney I found it inconvenient to retain it by bringing along the house.

Mention of the Chinese reminds me of an amusing scene which I observed one day in Sydney. As I was walking down George Street my attention was

drawn to the approach on the opposite side of the way of two gentlemen from Korea, apparently prosperous merchants, for they were apparelled in rich silk and wearing the characteristic head-covering of their country. Walking with much dignity they met face to face the police constable on duty. Apparently realising that he was symbolic of authority, both simultaneously extended their arms, bowed until their hands touched the pavement in acknowledgment of his representative character, and then solemnly went their way, leaving the policeman crimson and speechless.

Europeans have the brims of their top-hats at the lower edge, Greek Church clergy at the top, whilst a Korean wears his in the middle, about equidistant from both.

A singular instance of a man of high intellectual power who, though fully realising the consequence of his failing, yet from time to time yielded to it, is that of a member of a learned profession, and by no means a weakling. I first got to know him when he came to me, asking me to help him to avoid inebriety, which had robbed him of all that made life worth living. He so far recovered that he regained in a large measure his position in society; but at long intervals he would imprudently take a single drink and then would be unable to pull up until he came to me again for aid. On these occasions he would say: "Please, Doctor, will you blackguard me?" I always promptly complied with his request, and indulged him with five or ten minutes of the most abusive epithets, under which he would writhe. On my saying: "Is that enough?" he would often exclaim: "Give me a little more." This treatment

appeared to give him the moral stamina necessary to pull himself together, and with other psychic and, if necessary, drug treatment, ensured a long period of strict sobriety. On all other points he had the will and tenacity of a bull-dog, with unusual mental power and initiative.

At an official dinner at which I was present some time ago I heard what I thought was one of the smartest retorts ever made. A distinguished counsel of Hebraic descent went up to an important law officer of the Crown, a very good fellow, but not noted for paying great attention to his dress, and said to him : " Really, old man, you oughtn't to be so careless. You've worn that shirt before ; and isn't it about time you had a new suit ? " " My dear fellow," was the prompt retort, " what an eye your people have for old clothes ! "

One of the most famous retorts is probably that made by the great Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons. It was told me by the late Bishop Barry when Primate of Australia. He said that as a son of Sir Charles Barry, the great architect from whose designs the Houses of Parliament were erected, he was allowed as a boy entrance to the new Houses without much difficulty. On one occasion he remembered sitting behind the chair while Sir Robert Peel was making a very important statement which was frequently interrupted by Smith O'Brien, then a Member of the House. The great Minister pleaded for non-interruption, saying that when disturbed by such constant interjections he found it difficult to make the subject sufficiently lucid to ensure that complete understanding by Honourable Members which was essential to the well-being of the country.

He added that possibly at some future time the Honourable Member himself might hold office and possess the confidence of the Crown, when he would certainly realise the necessity of not being harassed while making an official announcement. At this juncture Smith O'Brien rudely exclaimed: "Confidence of the Devil!" "In such a case," retorted Sir Robert, "the Honourable Member would no doubt possess, as he would deserve, the confidence of the potentate whom he apparently desires to serve."

I was also reminded of an incident of my earlier days, by meeting the husband of one of the ladies in question. There were three young married ladies at a hotel where I was staying, whose husbands were away, one in Borneo, another in China, and the third at sea. They were one day engaged in a warm discussion on the meanings of words and philology generally. An appeal was made to me, one exclaiming: "Oh, Doctor, you will know and be able to tell us. What is the feminine of 'devil'?" Grasping the situation promptly I replied: "Grass-widow!" and fled for my life.

CHAPTER XV

THE BUSHRANGERS

Early Bushrangers—John Donohoe—The " Jewboys " Gang—Frank Gardiner—He Holds up the Gold Escort from Lachlan—A Long Sentence—His Release—Public Indignation—Resignation of Sir Henry Parkes' Ministry—Daniel Morgan—Bloodthirsty Ruffian—His Last Escapade—An Ingenious Ruse—The Notorious Clark Gang—Frederick Ward, alias " Thunderbolt "—A Considerate Bushranger—A Sensational Escape from Prison—" Captain Moonlight "—The Last of the Bushrangers.

I AM told that a gossiping book relating to Australia would be thought incomplete without some reference to the bushrangers, so before closing my informal chronicle I propose to give some account of these highwaymen of modern times. With few exceptions the bushrangers have not been bloodthirsty like the " road agents " of the United States, or the bandits of Southern Europe, who frequently take life on little or no provocation by recklessly shooting in order to terrorise their victims and check any possible resistance. My direct experience of such gentry of the road has been practically nil, but I have acquired much information from personal friends and also from contemporary newspapers.

Until a way over the Blue Mountains was discovered, and until Messrs. Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson crossed them in 1813, they were

considered impenetrable; the settled districts were too restricted to afford a field for highwaymen, except in a few instances in which escaped convicts took to this way of life. But after this period the bushrangers became more numerous, and from the difficulty of communication, and the comparative inefficiency of the police, who were badly armed at that time and were mostly recruited from convicts of better character, these men were often at large for a considerable time, before they were either shot when resisting arrest, or met their fate on the gallows.

One of the early bushrangers was John Donohoe, who was convicted and transported to New South Wales in 1825. Escaping later on, he formed a gang, and between 1828 and 1829 committed many robberies, being subsequently shot in a skirmish in 1830. Donohoe achieved a notoriety somewhat similar to that of Dick Turpin, songs being made in his honour, which were sung with much enthusiasm by his admirers. He was followed by many bushrangers, who were all more or less notorious; in fact, at this time there were but short intervals during which the colonies were free from such armed criminal outlaws. A formidable gang known as the "Jewboys" culminated its career in 1840 by shooting a man named John Graham, an assistant in a retail store at Scone, who attempted to defend it against them. They were captured three days later by a body of police and settlers under the command of Mr. Denny Day, Police Magistrate at Maitland, on December 21, and five were subsequently hanged.

For some years after this there were no very famous bushrangers, until, in 1861, Frank Gardiner, after having been subjected to numerous convictions,

took to the bush. He was not bloodthirsty and is not known to have taken life, though it is believed he was more than once present when it was taken by his companions. The most notorious crime with which he was concerned was the holding up of the gold escort from the Lachlan diggings at Engowu, in 1862, when the escort of three police was overpowered by a large number of robbers who fired a volley, two of the troopers being severely wounded. The boxes containing the treasure were broken open and 500,509 ounces of gold taken, valued at upwards of £200,000; also bank-notes to the amount of £7,490. Shortly after this Gardiner escaped to Queensland, where for two years he carried on business as a storekeeper at Apis Creek, on the road from Rockhampton to the Peak Downs. He was recognised by a commercial traveller, who gave information to the New South Wales police, who, proceeding there, arrested him. He was taken to Sydney, tried before the Chief Justice, Sir Alfred Stephen, convicted, and sentenced to thirty-two years' hard labour on various charges. After serving ten years he was conditionally released, having been an exemplary prisoner. This leniency did not meet with public approval, and, being condemned by Parliament, led in 1874 to the resignation of the Ministry of Sir Henry Parkes. Gardiner went to California, where he subsequently died. Almost the whole of this man's criminal associates were either shot or perished on the gallows; a few served long terms of imprisonment, but hardly one got off scot-free.

The most dangerous ruffian of that period was Daniel Morgan—his real name was Moran—who more nearly resembled the American outlaws in ferocity

than any of the Australian bushrangers. He never hesitated to take human life, even without necessity, if he wished to create terror. A case in point was that of Round Hill pastoral station, where, having shot Mr. Heriot and broken his leg, he permitted a friend to ride for the nearest doctor, who lived at a distance of forty miles. Afterwards, changing his mind, Morgan galloped after the messenger and shot him dead. He had killed and wounded so many persons that it was generally determined never to surrender to him. No one travelled by the country roads unless absolutely necessary. For instance, I remember having described to me a journey made by a brother and sister of mine, who were driving with a pair-horse trap in a district where Morgan was known to be. When they came to a place where the road ahead was hidden from view, or when an unknown horseman was seen approaching, my brother would hand over the reins to my sister and make ready a double-barrelled gun, loaded with wire cartridge, which he carried across his knees. Had Morgan appeared he would have been fired at on his closer approach, and would have had little chance with a revolver when opposed by a good quick shot who could kill two snipe out of three rising at once. This atrocious criminal met his fate at Peechalba, the homestead of Mr. Macpherson, on April 9, 1865. He had held up the station and mustered everybody in the dining-room except the nursemaid, who, escaping observation, managed to reach a neighbouring dwelling whence a messenger was sent to fetch the police. The robber demanded supper and insisted on the lady of the house and other friends entertaining him by playing the piano. He placed

two capped and cocked revolvers before him on the table at which he sat through the whole night. It was afterwards found that neither of them was loaded; but not so others which he kept concealed in his pockets. This showed he understood his business, for, had he dropped off to sleep, and had any man seized the weapons from the table, believing he had the bushranger in his power, he would have been woefully deceived and shot without mercy. At daylight, having eaten a good breakfast, he made the owner and another man accompany him to the stock-yard with the object of securing the best horse. To reach it he passed through a number of ambushed police and station men, one of whom, John Quinlan, fired on him from a distance of a hundred yards, shooting him through the spine. He was at once disarmed by those he had compelled to escort him, and died a few hours later.

The district to the south-east of Peechalba subsequently became celebrated as the haunt of the notorious Kelly gang, the leader and oldest member of which was only twenty-seven, the rest being all under twenty-one years of age. For some five years they defied capture, murdering one entire detachment of police, on October 26, 1878, and killing several other people, among them accomplices whom they suspected of informing from time to time. They met their own fate at Glen Rowan, where, having taken possession of the inn, they were besieged. The house was burnt, three of the gang perishing in the flames. Fred Kelly, the fourth, escaped by means of extemporised armour, constructed of the iron mould boards of ploughs. He was, however, captured, tried, and hanged.

The villainous Clark gang had a lengthy career in southern New South Wales, during which, among other murders, they surrounded and shot four constables who, under the guise of a surveying party, had camped and pretended to work in the criminal-haunted district. The exact circumstances of their death were never known, but as a proof that money was not the immediate object of their crime, on each body a bank-note of considerable value was found pinned to the clothing.

The bushranger with whom I was most likely to have come in contact was Frederick Ward, or "Thunderbolt," as he was called. I was told he had more than once passed me on the road with a polite greeting, although unrecognised by me. He said that he considered a doctor should be exempt from attack and robbery. He had many camps in the district of Scone, convenient for his concealment and for observation of the roads; but his presence at any of these was always uncertain, and he was frequently absent from that part of the country for months at a time. He defied arrest for five or six years, being eventually shot, after a revolver fight, by Constable Alexander Walker, now a superintendent of the New South Wales police.

The escape of "Thunderbolt" from the prison on Cockatoo Island was daring and sensational. On the prisoners leaving their work, he concealed himself outside the gaol, where he found an old hamper. Putting this over his head so as to rest on his shoulders, he entered the shark-infested water and swam three-quarters of a mile to the mainland. His wild career lasted some six years longer.

"Thunderbolt" once had a narrow escape from

capture at the Denison Diggings, on Hunter River. At this out-of-the-way village he stuck up the inn, ranging all the men, excepting one, in a row under command of his rifle. The one man, named Neil McInnes, who escaped observation, managed to get quickly behind the bushranger and grasped him round the body, pinning his arms to his sides. The others, however, dared not come to the assistance of their brave companion, who, finding himself threatened with a knife by a boy, the robber's companion, had to release his hold lest his arms should be slashed to ribbons. Loosing the bushranger he made a bolt for the mountain side, being fired at as he ran. It is doubtful, however, whether the bushranger really tried to hit the man who had so pluckily tried to capture him.

The last gang, consisting of a considerable number of outlaws, was led by a man who called himself "Captain Moonlight." They began and ended their career at Wantabadgery, a station on the Murrumbidgee river. A prolonged skirmish took place in which Constable Bowen, a man of good Welsh family, was killed, and others wounded. All the robbers were captured, and the leader and two others were hanged. One who was then reprieved suffered the extreme penalty of the law a year or two later for a vindictive and desperate assault on a fellow prisoner.

In another case I knew the principal actors intimately. A Roman Catholic clergyman when travelling on horseback from Scone to Murrurundi was held up and robbed of the church collections for that Sunday, amounting to a considerable sum. Directly information was given the police of the

surrounding districts were at once on the alert; those belonging to the faith of the victim being specially active. One of these, Constable Sweeny, came suddenly upon the robber when on patrol duty. The well-mounted ruffian bolted, followed closely by the policeman. The bushranger's horse, when put at a fence, refused, and the rider springing off climbed over it, running across a cultivated field. The policeman's horse followed suit, when the constable, making no further attempt to follow, after duly challenging the criminal, fired at him with a heavy revolver at a distance of some 200 yards. The bullet hit the mark and the man dropped dead, shot clean through the heart. I subsequently asked Sweeny what he had aimed at when he fired. He replied: "The man, to be sure, sir!" "Never, Pat!" I retorted; "if you had you would have been sure not to hit him." My reflection on his marksmanship aroused his angry indignation.

To-day bushranging in Australia is a lost calling. The telegraph enables information to be so quickly spread that there is little chance of escape for the robber with his booty. There is also much less long-distance travelling by road, for most of it is now done by railway, and valuables are conveyed by the same means instead of by horse coaches as of old.

CHAPTER XVI

PERSONAL INCIDENTS

I Prescribe for King Edward VII.—King Thakambau of Fiji and his Son—How they Dressed for an "At Home"—Ratu Timothy's Dress Suit—Thakambau's Nephew, Ratu Lalla—Fennessey in Fiji—Lynch law in Fiji—Amateur Executioners—Cardinal Moran's Signature—A Youthful Temperance Advocate—Lord Rosebery in Australia—A Mock Parliament—Visit of the late Archduke Franz Ferdinand to Australia—Reminiscences of Lord Jersey.

IN February, 1909, repeated reports in cables from London appeared in the Australian newspapers saying that His Majesty King Edward VII., who had then been for some time in ill health, had not so quickly recovered his strength after an attack of influenza as was hoped for. Under these circumstances, believing that His Majesty's good health was of vital importance to his Empire, I ventured to write to his secretary Lord Knollys, suggesting the use of a non-toxic drug not generally administered as a nerve restorative, which I had by experience on myself and others proved to be a marvellous tonic. I was not so rash as directly to recommend His Majesty to take it, but suggested that the matter might be referred to his physicians. Early in April I received a letter saying that my communication had been submitted to the King and by His Majesty's orders had been shown to his medical advisers, and a

command had been given to thank me for my " kind suggestion." With the rest of the world I was much gratified a few weeks after my letter reached London by the announcement that His Majesty's health had been fully and rapidly restored. Naturally, I am satisfied that this recovery was due to my remedy, either by his taking it, or carefully refraining from doing so !

From the throne of the British Empire to that of Fiji is rather a sudden drop, but possibly one of the most out-of-the-way acquaintances I ever made was that of the King and Royal Family of Fiji. I was first introduced to them when King Thakambau and his son Ratu (or Prince) Timothy were staying at Government House, Sydney, to which they had been invited by Sir Hercules Robinson (afterwards Lord Rosmead), who, by direction of the Imperial Government, had visited Fiji to report on the suggested annexation of that group.

Thakambau as pronounced, or Cakabau as spelt by the missionaries and natives, was the supreme chief, having by his conquests in earlier life gained the supremacy. Later on he had a serious rival in " Maafu," a Tongan, who had invaded a portion of the islands and acquired a great chiefdom by warfare. It was the prospect of aggression by this adventurer that probably induced the old chief to approach the Imperial Government with a view of ceding his kingdom. The old man had been a notorious cannibal, and is credited with having killed many thousands of his enemies and with having done his share in consuming them afterwards. When I met him the fires and appetites of youth had departed, and he appeared a kindly, courteous, elderly

gentleman. Ratu Timothy, who was fairly well educated by the missionaries, was decently polite, but still occasionally exhibited something of the fierceness of his father when young. Both had an air of distinction, accentuated if anything by the costume I saw them in at an "At Home" given by Lady Robinson. Each was dressed in a white shirt, the one put on in normal fashion, the other as a "sulu" or kilt, with a silk shawl, or large handkerchief, wound round the waist over the interregnum. The father never altered the style of his dress, but it is reported that his son did on one occasion, when he was coaxed into a dress suit to attend an official dinner. He sat out the soup, but could endure it no longer, and getting up from the table, stalked out of the room, returning shortly afterwards without his trousers. He then sat out the rest of the dinner in unembarrassed comfort.

Later on I met another son, Ratu Joseph, who had been sent to Newington College, a Wesleyan School in the neighbourhood of Sydney. He was an interesting boy.

Some years afterwards Ratu Lalla, the son of Tuithikau and a nephew of Thakambau, being the son of his sister, came to Sydney, when I made his acquaintance. Though nearly black, he was, even when judged by European standards, unusually handsome. He had been well educated and was most gentlemanly in his manners and address. I am told, however, that among his own people, where he was a powerful chief, he could, if provoked, exhibit considerable savagery. One morning, when in the lounge of the Australia Hotel, Sydney, where a number of the leading men of the city were assembled,

the conversation flowed cordially and freely, Lalla taking his due share. One of those present had received immense benefit from hypnotic suggestion, having been so relieved from asthma, which had made him an invalid from early youth, that he could outstrip me in running for a tramcar. He asked me if I could not make my suggestions to him there, as going to my rooms would interfere with another engagement. As an old subject he was easily influenced by the mere command to sleep. Lalla, who appeared greatly interested, presently became very restless, and when, having made my suggestions, I woke my patient by mere quiet words, he rapidly made for the door. The white friend who had brought him to the club asked why he was leaving. Indicating me, he exclaimed: "There is too much devil about that man; I am going." He died lately after considerable service as native magistrate. As the Roko or Chief of his district, he had been early appointed and held the office until his decease.

Before British annexation Fiji became an Alsatia, and though there were a large majority of decent citizens, a fair number found it an advantage to be out of the jurisdiction of the European Law Courts. This freedom from restraint after a time became distasteful to the better class Europeans, and, after a short trial of lynch law, an attempt was made to create a constitutional government, retaining Thakambau as King. The preliminary proceedings were fairly original, for the old Chief was far too acute to give up his rights without being well assured that he would gain materially by the transfer. He had to be kept in good humour and carefully coaxed. A

charming fellow, called Fennessey, who had got tired of shipping horses to India with the accompanying anxiety and discomforts of repeated voyages, determined to try Fiji for a change. He took a leading part in the negotiations and was frequently seen strolling about with his pockets turned inside out, exclaiming: "Flat-busted, a-trying to float the Fiji constitution by shouting gin and lemonade for old Thak!" In 1871 the lawlessness of a section of the community had become so great that control of some kind, with courts of law, was essential to the well-being of the largest and best part of the population. It was deemed impossible to wait whilst the British Government came to a decision as regards annexation. Application had been made to the Imperial Government to give magisterial power to the British Consul, and to provide him with a sufficient force to support and enforce his decisions. This was not complied with, and the establishment of a Government of some kind became of vital importance.

Mr. Burt, a former resident of Sydney, was the Prime Minister, with Mr. Hemming, the leading merchant in Levulsa, in charge of the finances, such as they were. He was the most reliable and influential member of the cabinet. Up till this time, whenever outrageous crimes had been committed the culprits could only be dealt with by lynch law. I have only heard of one case in which the death penalty was ordered, but even in that instance it was not carried out. The sentence having been passed, some members of the Vigilance Committee were told off to fulfil it. They were, however, mere amateurs as executioners, and a young gentleman, subsequently

an intimate friend of mine, who was then a medical student on a visit to Fiji, was told : " This is something in your line, youngster, so you must run the show." He did not care for his task, but had no choice, so lingered around during the proceedings. The inexperienced hangmen pinioned their prisoner, stood him on a packing-case and placed the loop of rope round his neck. The box was kicked away, but the man only dropped on to his tiptoes, with the result that the noose did not interfere much with his breathing and he was able to talk pretty freely. This he did, with much zest, abusing all concerned for being such greenhorns, and remarking that they ought to have had the decency not to take on a job they could not carry through. This so upset them that they all bolted except my friend, who, left to himself, thought adequate punishment had been inflicted, and pulling out his pocket-knife, cut the rope and, loosening his pinions, told the fellow to clear out, which he promptly did. The medical student, now a distinguished University professor, when subsequently describing the incident to me, said that years afterwards on calling at an inn in the Queensland bush he noticed that the man who served him with a whisky and soda glared fiercely at him. On his asking : " Why do you look at me like that ? I don't remember ever seeing you before," the man replied : " Don't you ? You ought to remember bossing my hanging in Fiji, when those d——d fools muffed the proceedings." He accepted a drink in expiation and, as he ought to have done before, began to realise that if life was worth living he had been unfittingly abusing a benefactor.

A good story I can tell is in relation to a Prince of the Church, also in Australia, His Eminence Cardinal Moran. As is the custom with dignitaries of the Church, he always prefaced his signature with a +, so that it appeared as follows: "+ Patrick, Cardinal Moran." On one occasion a letter so signed relating to a public object was shown to a man of some prominence not acquainted with the custom, his astonished comment being: "Well, I did not think His Eminence had to make his mark."

I often remember with much pleasant amusement the naïve comments of bright children on passing events or on incidents in which they feel themselves concerned. Among the best was one which occurred in the tropics during my voyage home. A small son of friends on board, aged six, seeing me enjoying iced "Schweppe," accosted me by saying: "Oh, Doctor, I don't like to see you doing this." I said: "Doing what, Bertie?" His reply was: "Wasting your money on drink."

Lord and Lady Rosebery visited Australia in 1883, and I had the honour of meeting the former on various occasions. He was most genial in his relations towards those with whom he came in contact. This was exemplified on one occasion when he spent an evening at the Athenæum, a literary club, then located in temporary quarters in Hunter Street, Sydney. At this meeting a number of more or less distinguished men of literary and political eminence were gathered, and in a jesting spirit the Premier, Sir Patrick Jennings, was elected speaker of a mock Parliament, consisting of those who chanced to be present. All quickly took sides, and in the ensuing debate, the subject of which I forget, the

future Prime Minister of the Empire led on one side and I on the other. This burlesque of Parliamentary proceedings furnished a couple of hours' great amusement both to the speakers and the listeners.

About 1893 the heir to the Crown of Austria-Hungary, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand,* visited Sydney on a cruise round the world. His Imperial Highness was a very distinguished naturalist and particularly interested in ornithology. A special train was placed at his disposal, and conveyed him to the western district of New South Wales for purposes of collecting and sport. He was a marvellous shot and astonished all spectators by his rapid and deadly aim during kangaroo drives on the plains approaching the Darling River. Several taxidermists were kept busily employed on cars specially fitted for their work of preserving the beasts, reptiles, and birds, the spoil of his gun. Accommodation for sleeping, bathing, and eating was afforded on the train. I was told at the time that the exalted guest was much pleased with his short experience of modified frontier life in Australia.

Lord Jersey was a most popular Governor, and no one who came under his influence could fail to realise how powerful a factor he was in the consolidation of loyalty to the Empire. His cordiality made every one who met him feel that anything he had to submit for consideration would be carefully thought out, and the decision arrived at would be accepted without demur, however contrary to expectation it might prove, because it was the opinion of a

* Since these words were written, the civilised world has been filled with horror by the assassination of the Archduke and his Consort at Serajevo, Bosnia, on June 28, 1914.

statesman who felt to the full his responsibility to the Queen he represented and to the country he governed. His geniality was proved by the ease with which he could put aside all the " pomp and circumstance " of his official position, and the graciousness with which he met all classes with whom he came in contact. On one occasion, a few days before the opening of the New South Wales Parliament, I wished to enter the building about midday, but found all gates closed, as repairs were going on in the internal roadway. The workmen had left for dinner but had locked the gates. The centre one, however, having a defective lock, was secured by a strong wooden batten. Finding no other way of entrance I was trying to break this down, when I heard a mocking voice behind me saying: " So you can't get in. Too bad, is it not ? " Thinking a fellow Member was chaffing me; I was on the point of retorting hotly, when fortunately I looked round and found it was Lord Jersey, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, who was poking fun at me. " Well," he exclaimed as he came up to me, " I did think you would be able to hold on for another week before wanting to go in there ! I don't see how you can manage it, unless I give you a leg over ? " " No, thank you, Your Excellency," I answered, " I don't care to be left dangling by the seat of my trousers on those spikes until the men come back and unhook me." Just then an attendant came up and I was let in, while Lord Jersey went on his way laughing heartily.

CHAPTER XVII

A HOLIDAY TOUR

I Sail for England in April, 1911—Colombo—Trip to Kandy—The Gardens of Peridynia—A Breakdown—The Red Sea—Home Again—Contrast Between the Voyage in 1863 and that of 1911—Coronation Festivities—Australian Exhibits in the British Museum—Relics of Captain Cook—Hawaiian Rush Helmets of Classical Design—Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons—Pharaoh's Heart—Old Haunts Revisited—Presented to King George—Mr. Angus' Inventions—The Grand Duke Michael Alexandrevich—An Australian Railway Contractor—" That's your style, Mary "—Dinner of the Broderers Company—Conclusion.

IN 1910 it became probable that I should be able to leave Australia on a visit to England, therefore during the session before my departure I took but little part in legislative work. My last stay in the old country terminated late in the summer of 1866, and I was eager to revisit old scenes and to see for myself the changes which had taken place during my long absence. Business, however, kept me fully occupied until I sailed from Sydney on April 11, 1911, by the Orient Liner *Orvieto*.

Our first call was at Hobart, to take a shipment of apples for London. After a stay of three days we sailed for Melbourne, a passage of about thirty-six hours. We next called at Adelaide, South Australia, arriving in the early morning and starting away the same evening. We had some moderately rough

weather while crossing the Australian Bight, and arrived at Fremantle soon after daylight four days later. Most of us were able to visit Perth, the capital of West Australia, going to it by steamer up the Swan River and returning by railway.

The progress and prosperity of the western state was very evident. In 1873 when I first acquired knowledge of it by conversations with the Honourable F. (later Sir Frederick) Barlee, the Chief Secretary, it was a Crown Colony, directly under the control of the Imperial Minister, and the population of the entire state was about 25,000. It has now a constitution, a bicameral Parliament, with a Ministry responsible to it, and more than 300,000 people.

Our next calling-place was Colombo, which presents many novelties to Australian eyes. Finding that a trip by railway to Kandy, the ancient capital of Ceylon, was quite feasible, I ventured on it. The route is most interesting, as one may see much of the daily life of the country and its inhabitants from the train. Towards the end of the journey the route became remarkable on account of the engineering feats whereby the difficulties of rapid ascent in a mountainous country are successfully overcome. We passed through the world-famed gardens of Peridynia, and after a few hours' sight-seeing we started back, hoping to reach Colombo in time so see something of that place. We were, however, disappointed, for shortly after passing the most dangerous spot on the line, where a similar accident might have precipitated the train to a depth of many hundreds of feet, the engine left the rails, ploughing up the track for a considerable distance. There was no actual danger, but the prospect of several hours' delay alarmed

us lest the ship might sail without us. Fortunately we got back to Colombo in time, and started on our next stage to Suez.

As everything was favourable, an unusual route was taken in the Red Sea, for shortly after leaving Perim we passed through the Hamish groups of islands. They are volcanic and show not the slightest signs of vegetation. Volcanic soil is always fertile, so the source of this barrenness must be the absence of moisture, or possibly of seeds. I should like to see those of various suitable grasses sown upon these islands, so that it might be ascertained which is the cause of the apparent desolation. Even if no rain falls the dew must be sufficiently great to support suitable plant growth.

The voyage in the Red Sea is always interesting when the track lies so near to the shore that natural features can be distinguished. The ship reached Suez after dark, and, after waiting some time for her turn, entered the canal about midnight. The next morning most of us were on deck at daylight, for every mile showed something interesting to those who had not made the passage previously. Arabs with their camels and flocks of goats were seen at frequent intervals. It was amusing when men on camels raced the ship, a novelty for an ocean liner. Long stretches of the bank are planted with Australian trees, principally She-oak (*Casuarina*) which was recognised as an old friend. These plantations are made to arrest the drifting sand, and do much to lessen the silting of the canal. We arrived at Port Said in the afternoon, and took on board some hundreds of tons of coal, and a few tons of ice to aid the refrigerators. This had become necessary from

the unusually large number of passengers, over 1,000. Before dark we left for Naples, but just before arriving there I had a somewhat serious attack of illness. I was, however, fortunate enough to have recovered sufficiently to land in the Italian city. The latter part of the passage to Naples was most interesting, especially in the Straits of Messina, where the effects of the great earthquake were still visible.

Not being sufficiently well to take the trip to Pompeii, which I ardently desired to visit, I spent the one day at our disposal in visiting Naples and the museum, which contains a wonderful collection of objects found in the buried city. The basis which they furnished was fascinating food for imaginative thought as to the habits, customs, and daily life of the people of 1,800 years ago, and I quite lost sight of present-day affairs while trying to reconstruct in fancy the scenes of which every exhibit must have formed a part. To me, perhaps, the most interesting were the arms and armour of the gladiators, and the evidences of their daily life and service. The art treasures are very fine, but they do not make the same human appeal.

After leaving Naples I again became so invalided that I was compelled to remain in bed, so that I did not see the coasts of Sardinia and Corsica, which we passed very near on the passage to Marseilles. As this port has been found not to afford the requisite facilities to the Orient steamers, I could view it only from the deck, but, ancient as the city is, it did not attract me greatly. We anchored for a few hours at Gibraltar, always of unique interest to Britons, and with good glasses I perseveringly scanned the many objects visible from the ship's deck. Most interesting

discoveries have been made while excavating there, and one very early prehistoric skull is not the least remarkable of them.

A few days later we arrived at Plymouth, and anchored in the Sound. Thus once more I had a fine view of my native land on the very spot from which I left it just fifty years earlier. A few hours saw us making our way up the Channel, earnestly scanning the fleeting coast-line. The scanty herbage, brown in hue, showed how unusually dry the season was, as the winter tints should have been succeeded at the end of May by the brilliant green of spring. Soon after daylight the vessel anchored off Gravesend, waiting for the tide in order to enter the docks at Tilbury, from which place, after the usual Customs' formalities, we started about mid-day for London by railway.

My homeward voyage in 1911 offered in many respects a strong contrast to my former passages to and from Australia. For this reason I have lingered over my account of it. When in 1861 I first went to Melbourne, it was by one of Green's line of sailing ships, the *Prince of Wales*, which had been built under agreement with the East India Company as a frigate, being pierced for forty guns. She did the work of an ordinary merchantman, and probably never carried that number of guns, but still, on emergency, could have been made an efficient fighting craft, as was proved during our wars with France by many ships of that class in the direct service of the old Company. After leaving Plymouth we did not sight land until reaching Cape Otway, on the Victorian coast, after a voyage lasting eighty-three days, *via* the Cape of Good Hope.

When returning to England in 1863 by the *Anglesey*, also owned by Green and Co., the route taken was by Cape Horn, and we were in considerable peril from icebergs, of which during fourteen days we never lost sight, except when it was too dark to observe them. Some were of immense size, being from a mile to two or three long, and 300 feet out of water. Fortunately during most of this hazardous time we had clear weather and bright moonlight, and in that latitude in July daylight lasts for a few hours. On one occasion, when sailing close to the wind, we ran into a large bay in a very extensive ice-field, in which no break could be found, even after the most careful look-out. The ship had to turn back and go out the way she came in. Luckily this was easily done, as the moon was up, and the reversal of the course gave her a fair wind. We escaped all perils, and reached England in ninety-five days.

I also made the passage out in 1866, by the same vessel, but only after a voyage of more than ninety days. The first of these ships was about 1,800 tons burden, the second about 1,000. Both had to carry live stock for the first cabin passengers, also a cow. The other classes had to be content with preserved provisions, and nothing could be less appetising or satisfactory. The *Orvieto* is over 13,000 tons, has refrigerating chambers, and serves fresh provisions of every kind to all passengers, often more than 1,000 in number. A notable improvement is the excellent quality of the vegetables and salads. These can be procured without difficulty, as the longest time between ports is but nine days.

A large number of Australians came home at this time to witness the Coronation and participate in the

festivities accompanying it. All were made to realise their kinship. The bounteous hospitality accorded them was highly appreciated. Every one was made to feel that, though a resident in outlying parts of the Empire, and having possibly been born in one of them, he is nevertheless a Briton.

Having my choice, I preferred to witness the proceedings from outside rather than inside Westminster Abbey, being contented to view the procession from the good seats which had been allotted to me for myself and friends, rather than risk the chance of being so placed within the building as to have seen comparatively little of the ceremony. The processions were sights always to be remembered, if only from the proximity of the exalted persons when passing amid such gorgeous surroundings. Subsequently many important people entertained us hospitably at great functions, and excursions were organised to many places of interest in the country.

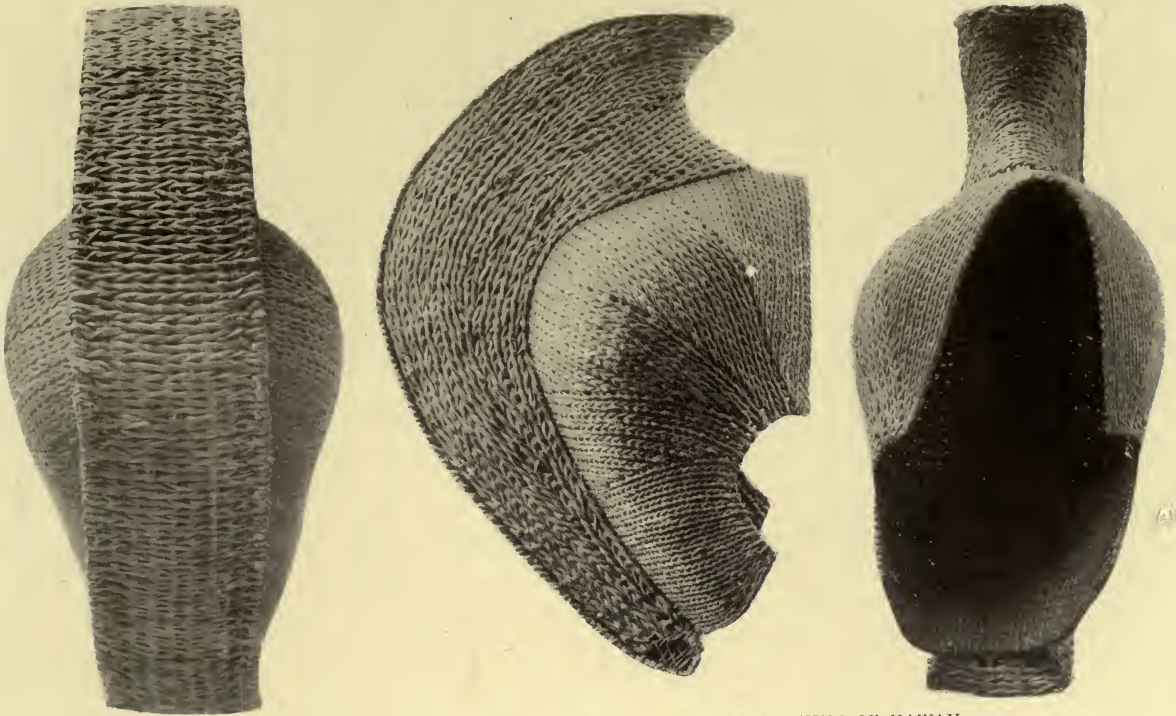
As soon as life had resumed its normal course I presented my letters of introduction to various institutions and learned societies, from the officers of all of which I received the greatest courtesy, and I made—I am vain enough to believe—many highly esteemed friends.

The various departments of the British Museum gave me opportunities of following up various ideas, difficult of elucidation, except by the aid of its vast scientific resources. Among the exhibits most interesting to an Australian are the feather-work helmets and cloaks from the Hawaiian Islands, some of which were brought away by Captain Cook and his companions. The Australian Museum possesses an extensive collection of relics of that illustrious navigator,

given by him to his relatives; the most notable perhaps being the helmet placed on his head by the chief when on his first landing he was greeted as a god. By the lapse of time, and possibly the ravages of moths, it has lost its original feather covering, but the headdress itself, made of plaited rushes, is still perfect. Its shape is of typical Greek pattern, with a raised crest extending from above the forehead to the nape of the neck. This would seem to indicate that it was not an original conception, but a copy from some design introduced. It is ornamental rather than protective; for although if constructed of metal, like the classic helmets, it would safeguard the head from injury, constructed of rushes it could have no such effect. I venture to surmise that there may have been early communication with these islands from a Greek source, possibly as a consequence of Alexander's invasion of northern India. Descendants of his followers may have made their way to the Malayan Islands, and some of them wearing classic armour, when embarked on a prow, may have been blown across the Pacific.

There is also evidence of intercourse with ancient Nippon, in the armour of interwoven cocoa-nut coir, formerly in use in the Gilbert Group in the Pacific. The pattern, or rather shape, is typically that of Japan. Dr. Pomare, a gentleman of Maori descent, now a member of the New Zealand Parliament, told me when we met at the Medical Congress that his people had traditions of their having come through Raratonga, Tonga, Hawaii, and the Malay Islands from India as their place of origin.

Another museum which I visited with the greatest interest was that of the Royal College of Surgeons,



HELMET PLACED ON THE HEAD OF CAPTAIN COOK BY THE KING OF HAWAII

of which Professor Keith is the Conservator. I shall always feel grateful for his courtesy in showing and explaining to me the more interesting exhibits. Among the most remarkable things is the series of specimens obtained from Egyptian mummies, showing traces of various diseases, such as leprosy, tuberculosis, and syphilis. The bacteria of the two former still take a stain and are therefore distinguishable; the last-named has left its traces, which are unmistakable. Specimens showing surgical practice, and its results, prove that with this ancient people there were various degrees of skill. Some of the fractures had been well dealt with and admirably repaired, whilst others show what should have been avoidable deformity. There are mummied limbs still in splints, put on a short time before death, which had not been removed prior to embalming. Others show displacement of the pelvic viscera. Perhaps the most interesting of all these exhibits may be accepted by conventional theologians as an additional proof of the accuracy of Holy Writ. In the 20th verse of the 10th chapter of Exodus it is written that Pharaoh's heart was hardened so that he would not let the children of Israel go. A portion of the aorta taken from the close neighbourhood of the heart of the mummy of the Pharaoh of the Exodus shows atheromatous deposit, so that if his heart was not hardened, at any rate a part of his circulatory system in close proximity may be truthfully said to have been.

As early as practicable I visited the country I had known so well as a boy, and, driving round for a couple of days, I visited the old villages. They are still much the same, but the people are mostly new,

for I could find but one who had any personal recollection of the men and events of fifty years earlier, of which I retained such vivid memories. So little were things changed in other respects, that I could almost convince myself that the same bits of orange-peel and waste paper which I saw in childhood were still littering the streets and footpaths. I missed one or two cottages and a few trees, but little else except my old friends among the villagers. When I had done this pilgrimage, which I felt to be a duty, I took trips to various parts of the country, but found none more interesting than south-western Wiltshire, where, staying with kind friends at Zeals, I visited many prehistoric remains and ancient edifices, ecclesiastical and secular. It is in seeing such things as these that the dweller of a new country finds the atmosphere of the past which is so conspicuously absent in the home of his adoption, yet the recollection of which binds him so strongly in his affection for the land of his forebears.

On March 4, 1912, I was presented to the King by the Colonial Secretary, and in the following July was present at the Royal garden party at Windsor.

During the whole of my stay in England, which extended over two years, I was very deeply interested in the wonderful series of inventions of Mr. A. R. Angus of Sydney, N.S.W., the object of which is to secure safety in railway traffic. When these are adopted in their entirety collisions will be impossible, and derailments consequent on excessive speed round curves, or through defective or unclosed points, will be made, if not quite impossible, at least exceedingly infrequent.

At present the majority of accidents depends on

the lapses of the men or failure of apparatus, either in the signal-boxes or on the engines. These factors of danger are eliminated by Mr. Angus' inventions; for in the event of failure of either the man or mechanism, safety is ensured by the automatic action of the engine itself, independent of either. Even defect of the applied apparatus, which is exceedingly improbable, will secure safety.

At a demonstration on July 5, 1912, when many of the leading managers and engineers of railways in Great Britain, Europe, and America were present, at Watchet, in Somersetshire, where Mr. Angus has private possession of a line, and has purchased two fast, large engines of the Great Western Railway Company, it was shown that with his apparatus installed no trains could be made to collide, even by the wilful act of the men in charge. Reports of this demonstration appeared in *The Times* (weekly edition), and in almost every other newspaper at home and abroad, on July 6, 1912.

An article referring to it had been published in the Engineering Supplement of *The Times* on July 3.

A year later, on July 14, 1913, Mr. Angus was honoured at Watchet by a visit, *incognito*, of His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrevich of Russia, who came to view a somewhat similar demonstration, but in a more complete form. The Grand Duke, who is married to the sister of the Czar, was accompanied by several eminent Russians whom he had commanded to be present. They spent two hours on the engines and the line, examining and having explained to them all the details of the apparatus, and witnessing its working. All were impressed by its efficiency, simplicity, and

security ; realising that when the engines and track are fitted with the invention, on failure of either men or apparatus it insures safety to the train, instead of leaving it open to an almost inevitable smash, as was the case before Mr. Angus worked out his idea.

On this occasion I had the honour of being presented to the Grand Duke, who received me most graciously, and expressed his gratification at what had been demonstrated to him, remarking: "It is so simple and efficient." On learning that I was from New South Wales, he said that he also had been to Australia, and that when on board a Russian warship he had spent a short time in Sydney. He expressed admiration of the beauty of the harbour, saying it is the finest in the world. His enthusiasm, indeed, surpassed my own, which is saying a good deal.

The subject of railways reminds me of an amusing story about an Australian railway contractor. While the Zigzag, which enabled railway service to be established on the western descent of the Blue Mountains, was under construction, the contractor for that section, Mr. Patrick Higgins, had a most fortunate experience. When the tunnel was completed it was found to be so unsafe in consequence of the friable quality of the rock, that it was condemned by the supervising engineers, and Mr. Higgins was ordered to remove it. To do this by hand work would have cost an immense sum. He was, however, advised to accomplish it by means of explosives, some tons of which were placed in chambers excavated in the rock itself, to be fired simultaneously by electricity. When all the preliminaries had been completed, a crowd of notable

THE GRAND DUKE ALEXANDER MIKHAILOVICH ON MR. A. R. ARGUS' ENGINE. JULY 14, 1913

people were entertained at a luncheon on the ground, after which a button causing the detonation was pressed by Lady Belmore, who, with Lord Belmore, the Governor of New South Wales, was present on the occasion. Hundreds of thousands of tons of sandstone rock were precipitated into a vast gorge upon which the works abutted, thus avoiding any necessity for manual labour. The saving to the contractor was immense, and it was estimated that in these few minutes he earned an unexpected sum of over £50,000. Delighted with his good fortune, and hilarious with good cheer, during the silence following the blasting the lucky contractor was heard to exclaim in a loud voice: "That's your style, Mary!!!" As this chanced to be her Ladyship's name, the astonishment and horror depicted upon the faces of the guests was amusing to behold!

Later in the year 1912 other notable functions in which I took part were the "Congress of Americanists," for the discussion of subjects relating to the Archæology and Ethnology of the Western Continents, both North and South; and also a dinner of the Broderers Company, one of the older City guilds.

The latter took place in a hall decorated with banners which, I was told, had been carried before Queen Elizabeth at the opening of the first Royal Exchange, and the tables were laden with plate dating from her reign and that of James I. The toast of the Empire was proposed by Lord Midleton, a former Master of the Company; to this, with the exception of India, I was invited to respond; Sir Thomas Holderness, Permanent Under Secretary, replying for that portion of His Majesty's dominions.

In the course of the dinner of the Broderers

Company, Sir William Bayley remarked that the industrial prosperity of Manchester was so great that although there were several millions of people in the city and the surrounding districts, more workers were still required. In responding to the toast of the Empire, I commented upon this statement, saying that I feared Australia was in even worse case, for though having an area approaching that of Europe it possessed not more than five millions of people. However, everything possible was being done to lessen the evil of immigration, whilst the Government had even gone so far as to offer a reward of £5 to the mother of every white baby born there. This expenditure might do something to raise the population, but I thought that the increase of the birth-rate would still have to be, as of old, "a labour of love." I was gratified by the applause which greeted my very matter-of-fact statement.

My object in coming to England having been attained, I returned to Australia early in the spring of 1914.

THE END

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